



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-91-154
Friday
9 August 1991

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Diouf Encourages African Help for De Klerk

AB0808124091 Paris AFP in English 2324 GMT
5 Aug 91

[Text] Libreville, Aug 6 (AFP)—African nations should help South African President Frederik de Klerk to abolish apartheid and bring about reform in his country, the president of the West African state of Senegal said here Monday. Arriving in the capital of Gabon for a stopover en route to a socialist conference in Zimbabwe, President Abdou Diouf stressed the "unequivocal will of President Frederik de Klerk to carry through to the end his fight against apartheid." "I believe in his sincerity, and Africa should help him," Diouf said.

Diouf said the recent scandal over South African government financing of Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, which has tainted Mr. de Klerk's government, had been "a very nasty affair." But he added that it was only a "passing problem," which should "soon be settled."

Mr. Diouf is due to fly on Tuesday to a meeting of African socialist parties in the Zimbabwean capital Harare.

SADCC Notes Members Severe Grain Shortages

MB0808145091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1356 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] Bulawayo Aug 8 SAPA—The Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) region needs about two million [metric] tons of grain within the next 12 months to feed its growing population. The Zimbabwe National News Agency, ZIANA, reports that the SADCC, a grouping of 10 southern African states (excluding South Africa), says the region's 85 million inhabitants face a growing food shortage. Seven million have been displaced by hunger and civil strife.

A SADCC report released at a meeting of its food security unit in Bulawayo shows that the region's food stocks were dwindling and a cereal deficit of 2.89 million [tonnes] has already been registered. This year's shortfall is 1.85 million tons more than last year's recorded deficit of 950,000 tons and was caused in a 1.81 million ton drop in maize production. Stocks of wheat and rice went down by 0.71 million and 0.26 million tons respectively. The region's staples are maize, wheat, millet, sorghum, cassava and rice. The report says poor economic policies by individual member states, bad weather, low world commodity prices, low incentives and little foreign aid were partly responsible for the food shortage. SADCC's cereal production for the 1990/91 agriculture season was 10.15 million tons, which food experts say, was relatively stable.

The report cited Zimbabwe, once the region's bread basket, as one of the countries whose grain production dropped significantly, by minus 21 percent. Production also went down by 29 percent in Lesotho and 25 percent in Mozambique. However, production went up by 48 percent in Angola, 19 percent in Malawi, 17 percent in Swaziland and 31 percent in Zambia over the previous season. But, this was still below their normal production levels, the report said.

Grouped together 11 years ago to reduce dependence on South Africa, SADCC countries are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The report notes that they all face grain shortage. The shortfalls are serious in Mozambique (0.98 million tons), Angola (0.62 million tons) and Lesotho (0.21 million tons).

In Angola and Mozambique, the report pointed out that the war was the major contributing factor to poor food production. Zimbabwe would have to import up to 190,000 tons of cereals for it to normalise its reserves. Zambia, which in the past experienced food riots, was forced to import about 200,000 tons while Tanzania has to find 260,000 tons. To be able to sustain itself as well as some 900,000 Mozambican refugees, Malawi will have to import about 0.13 million tons.

Although the region's food security is weak, Zimbabwe will have to honour its previous commitments and export maize to some of its neighbours. The SADCC is to export 0.17 million tons of maize, the bulk of it—228,000 tons—from Zimbabwe. So far, Harare, the centre of the region's food security network, exported about 95,800 tons of maize. The country experienced erratic rainfall last summer, leading to poor crop yields. The shortfall led the government to give the poor food handouts. The drought caused a 20 percent decline in the general crop production while wheat was expected to go down by 28 percent.

Local food experts say the gross cereal consumption requirements from now up to the next harvest season is 2.14 million tons. A shortfall of 189,000 tons of cereal is anticipated during the same period. "The maize shortfall alone is estimated at 155,000 tons which will need to be imported in order to replenish stocks and maintain normal strategic reserves at current levels," says the report on Zimbabwe.

The country's other requirements would include rice (28,000 tons) and wheat (766,000 tons). "Up to 18,000 tonnes of the two cereals have been received so far," says the report. If Harare honours all the export commitments, maize stocks would dwindle to below normal reserve levels by early next year. Total intra-regional trade and cereal within SADCC countries would account for only 14 percent this year and early 1992. "In order to maintain strategic reserves of maize of 500,000 tons, imports to the tune of 383,000 tons will be needed," says the report.

ANC Military Wing Conference Begins 9 Aug

MB0908080891 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0731 GMT 9 Aug 91

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Thohoyandou, Venda, Aug 9 SAPA—A last-minute surge has doubled to around 500 the number of delegates attending the first conference inside South Africa of the ANC [African National Congress] military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation—(MK)], which begins in Venda on Friday [9 August] morning. Stringent security measures have been set up at the University of Venda, in the far northern Transval, where the three-day national conference is being held.

At least 60 senior MK commanders have arrived from outside South Africa, mainly from MK camps in Uganda, Angola and Tanzania. A senior ANC source at the conference confirmed to SAPA there was a possibility the delegates would appoint a new MK chief of staff, replacing Chris Hani who is set to take up a full-time position in the SA [South African] Communist Party [SACP].

The source emphasised the conference had not been called to seek a new deputy to MK Commander Joe Modise. The African National Congress has not yet responded officially to an SACP request to relieve Mr Hani of most of his ANC duties. Signs that an announcement was imminent were fuelled by news that the ANC's so-called "shadow cabinet", its national working committee, had met in Johannesburg on Thursday.

According to speculation at the conference, Operation Vula commander Sphiwe Nyanda, 41, is the most probable successor to Mr Hani. Mr Nyanda is at present the third most senior MK commander inside South Africa, and has recently taken over many of Mr Hani's duties in MK.

According to the ANC source, the delegates—originally about 250 were expected—will decide on Friday afternoon during closed session on a conference agenda. They will also decide whether conference should decide on a likely successor to Mr Hani.

MK policy on the creation of a post-apartheid South Africa is expected to top the agenda. This follows an apparent shift in ANC thinking earlier this week when Mr Hani flatly rejected any integration of MK into the SA Defence Force [SADF]. At a news conference in Johannesburg, the MK chief of staff said the ANC regarded the SADF as "the military wing of the National Party".

A new democratically-elected government would have the task of creating a new defence force which would have to be orientated to defend democracy, Mr Hani said. He said such a defence force could well contain elements of the SADF, MK, and other military elements, such as the homeland armies.

Other issues expected to dominate the conference are: the welfare of MK members; MK's role during negotiations; the position of MK on defence units, focussing on the provision of personnel and resources; expansion and upgrading of MK's recruitment; the role of MK in transforming the "mentality" of security forces in South Africa; and, the future role of Armscor [Armaments Corporation of South Africa]—MK is against privatisation and wants it instead to expand research to compete in the international arms market.

The ANC's national conference in Durban in July, in resolutions dealing specifically with MK, resolved:

- MK should remain "combat ready";
- The ANC accepts full responsibility for cadres arrested and tried in the "execution of their duties while defending the people";
- The ANC would establish MK structures at all levels including the opening of offices; and
- The ANC would remain and develop MK until a democratic constitution was adopted and a new defence force was created into which MK cadres would be integrated.

Mandela Addresses Umkhonto We Sizwe Conference

MB0908093091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0901 GMT 9 Aug 91

[Text] Thohoyandou Aug 9 SAPA—Negotiations were a way to resolve, by peaceful means, the terrible crisis into which racism had plunged South Africa, ANC [African National Congress] president and commander-in-chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation (MK)—ANC military wing], Mr Nelson Mandela, said on Friday [9 August]. He was delivering the keynote address at the 30th MK conference in Thohoyandou in Venda.

"The ANC has never, on principle, been opposed to the employment of negotiations as one of the means to arrive at our cherished goal," he said. We always insisted that, depending on the level and intensity of the struggle, the Pretoria regime will one day find it advisable to seek negotiations. At the same time, we said also that negotiations must not be regarded as a substitute for the national liberation struggle. They must and can only be an aspect of the movement's strategy, employed at a specific moment to attain our stated and historic objectives. It was from that perspective that the ANC entered into the process leading through the Harare Declaration to the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes."

Mr Mandela said the ANC had "loyally, scrupulously and very faithfully observed the letter and the spirit of all the agreements entered into with the South African Government". "Can President de Klerk and his cabinet make the same claim?"

"Despite the severe and trying provocations of state-sponsored violence, massive covert destabilisation operations, the systematic assassination of our regional

leaders and other supporters of the ANC, our movement has bent every endeavour [as received] to keep the peace process on track. Can President de Klerk and his cabinet make the same claim?" he asked.

The ANC leader said his organisation had exercised restraint in the face of an orchestrated, covert campaign to finance, train and sustain a legion of dummy organisations and bodies in opposition to the ANC. "Our movement has...given due recognition even to these very creations of the security police as a token of our commitment to political pluralism. "Can President de Klerk and his cabinet, who have so assiduously plotted to destroy the ANC and its allies, make the same claim?"

Demands Government 'Hand Over Power'

MB0908101691 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0943 GMT 9 Aug 91

[Text] Thohoyandou Aug 9 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] would insist on political inclusivity and an unambiguous time frame in negotiations towards an interim government, ANC President and Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) [Spear of the Nation—ANC military wing] Commander-in-Chief Mr Nelson Mandela said on Friday [9 August]. Delivering the keynote address at MK's 30th anniversary in Thohoyandou, Venda, Mr Mandela said the government would have to resign and hand over power to the transitional administration. The conference is the first legal gathering of MK combatants on South African soil in 30 years.

Mr Mandela said the recent disclosures of clandestine government funding "demonstrates in the clearest possible terms the pressing need for an interim government of national unity to preside over the entire transition from apartheid to democracy". He said the interim government would have to take charge of all armed and security forces, adopt an interim bill of rights, supervise and conduct the elections for a constituent assembly and implement other measures necessary to prepare the country for democracy.

"As we have often stated, such a government should be constituted so as to enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of South Africans. The modalities of its installation and its actual composition can be a matter for discussion and negotiation among all the players in the political arena."

He said it was because of "our keen awareness of the dangers inherent in the minority regime's determination to cling to power that we dare not relax our vigilance and we dare not permit this MK to disintegrate or wither away". It was a matter of record that the ANC had "loyally, scrupulously and very faithfully observed the letter and the spirit of all the agreements entered into with the South African Government". "Can President de Klerk and his cabinet make the same claim?"

"Despite the severe and trying provocations of state-sponsored violence, massive covert destabilisation operations, the systematic assassination of our regional leaders and other supports of the ANC, our movement has bent every endeavour [as received] to keep the peace process on track. "Can President de Klerk and his cabinet make the same claim?"

He said MK was called upon to "assist the masses in devising the appropriate response to state-sponsored and vigilante violence" and "to prepare ourselves and to restructure MK". This would be necessary so its "cadres could take their rightful place in the armed forces of a democratic South Africa". "Umkhonto we Sizwe was founded as an army with a very specific mission, the liberation of the people of South Africa. It is that mission that has always informed and inspired everything that we have done. Unlike a conventional army, MK is made up of committed militants, who have acquired specific military skills in pursuance of the liberation movement's agenda. Ours is not an army of mere soldiers, it is an army of political activists."

Mandela Exonerates IFP Members on Funds Issue

MB0808114791 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
8 Aug 91 p 3

[Report by Patrick Laurence: "Mandela Absolves Inkatha Members"]

[Text] ANC [African National Congress] president Nelson Mandela yesterday exonerated rand-and-file members of the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] of blame for the Inkathagate scandal and expressed the hope they would "clean up their organisation."

His statement—made at a news conference shortly after his arrival from a tour of Caribbean and South African countries—was interpreted by some journalists as an invitation to Inkatha members to oust Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr. Mandela, however, denied that he was appealing to Inkatha members to rebel against Chief Buthelezi, saying: "We are not going to dictate what they are going to do. But there are ... certain things which they must do in order to put their organisation on a basis on which we can continue to talk to them."

A central theme ran through his replies to questions in the wake of disclosures that police had funnelled money from State coffers to Inkatha and its trade union ancillary: It complicated but did not foreclose the task of negotiating with the De Klerk administration.

But, the ANC leader made clear, the Government had itself become an obstacle to negotiations, and processes towards a negotiated settlement would depend on its replacement by an interim government of national unity to oversee the transition from apartheid to nonracialism.

Mr. Mandela adopted a generally tough attitude towards Mr. de Klerk. He refused to retract a remark to which the State President took exception—that Mr. de Klerk was promoting his administration's cause "over the corpse" of ANC members—and accused the President of being less than frank when he denied knowledge of the payments to Inkatha.

Mr. Mandela's understanding attitude towards the Inkatha membership contrasted with his remarks about its leader.

"Chief Buthelezi has allowed himself to be used by the Government," he said unequivocally. "There is no difference whatsoever between the Government and the Inkatha leadership. They are on the same payroll."

On Mr. de Klerk's complaint about the accusation that he, Mr. de Klerk, was advancing his cause over the ANC's dead, Mr. Mandela responded: "Mr. de Klerk is the last person to complain about that remark."

Mr. de Klerk could afford "the courtesy" of not criticising the ANC leader in public because "it is not his people who are dying," Mr. Mandela said.

He could not, however, observe the same courtesies because "I stay in the place where our people are dying every day."

Asked whether he thought Mr. de Klerk was telling the truth when he denied knowledge of the payments to Inkatha, Mr. Mandela said: "You will have to decide for yourself ... No funds could have been spent by the Minister of Police and by the Minister of Finance, and with the concurrence of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, which would not have been known to the State President."

Declaring that Mr. de Klerk had still not acknowledged the full extent of covert funding of organisations hostile to the ANC, Mr. Mandela said: "We are demanding that the present Government transfer power to an interim government. That will solve all questions."

Ramaphosa: Government's Authority Talks Obstacle

MB0808112491 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
8 Aug 91 p 6

[Report by Shaun Johnson: "Interim Rule Now Thrust of Negotiations, Says ANC (African National Congress)"]

[Text] The ANC is ready to get an all-party conference going as early as mid-September—in spite of the Inkathagate scandal—but it will now insist that the key obstacle to be discussed is the authority of the Government itself.

In an exclusive interview with THE STAR, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa revealed that a process of consulting the ANC'S membership and its allies on

whether suspended preparatory constitutional talks should be reactivated had already begun.

He said it was difficult to state precisely when its result would be known, "but I would say maybe a month, six weeks. The process is under way..."

"We are going to be ready for an all-party conference after two things—the consultations and the patriotic front conference. After that, we are ready to go."

The move confirms new ANC urgency to get the negotiations process moving again, particularly in the light of the organisation's belief that its case for an interim government has been greatly strengthened by the slush fund revelations.

The pre-scandal position—in which the Government was seen to be impatient for round-table talks, and the ANC was dragging its feet—appears to have been reversed.

Interim government has now supplanted all other issues as the pivot around which the political debate will turn. THE STAR understands, for example, that the Organisation of African Unity—which in the Harare Declaration left the question of "interim arrangements" to the "parties themselves"—is considering hardening its position dramatically because of Inkathagate.

There is a very strong possibility that the OAU will shortly send a ministerial delegation to Europe and the U.S. to push the case for pressure to be placed on President de Klerk to accept an interim government in South Africa.

According to Mr Ramaphosa, some foreign governments which had been firmly in favour of Pretoria overseeing the transition process "are privately saying they now think we have a strong case".

Mr Ramaphosa said that when the ANC's internal consultation process "reaches finality...we will be able to say very clearly to the Government that we now are ready to start talks on the calling of an all-party congress—if our membership agrees that we should now lay more emphasis on the main obstacle, which is the Government.

"This would be without de-emphasising the other obstacles—violence, prisoners and exiles. But we are now facing the major obstacle, because when it is removed, automatically the others will fall away."

He said there was no question of the ANC trying to "destroy" the Government in the wake of Inkathagate.

"I think there is a recognition that his Government is necessary to the process," Mr Ramaphosa said, adding that if Mr de Klerk agreed that Pretoria could not manage the transition alone, "he could actually find himself being a leading part of an interim government".

The ANC's low-profile role in the course of Inkathagate reflects a strategic decision to hold back and let matters unfold independently in the hope that the end result would be to speed up negotiations to the ANC's benefit.

"We could have gone on to the rooftops," said Mr Ramaphosa, "but I don't think a responsible political organisation should do that. We had to come with a response that gave direction to the country, rather than one that just served party-political interests."

"We take very seriously our responsibility to not only lead our followers, but to give leadership to the country."

The ANC secretary-general expressed disappointment, however, with the way in which the ANC's response had been greeted.

"I think the Government either did not read the signal coming from the ANC (regarding Inkathagate) very clearly, or they are just ungrateful."

"Because the signal that we gave is that of course we want the investigations and so on, but at the same time we are saying: 'Let us get on with the job that is at hand. We don't trust you—many people don't trust you any more—but we are prepared to talk to you. Let's find a way in which we can get the process moving.'"

"We are not trying to score political points. We are saying we are ready."

Buthelezi Returns, Views Inkathagate, ANC

*MB0808083491 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0800 GMT 8 Aug 91*

[Text] Mangosuthu Buthelezi says the response to Inkathagate is out of all proportion. Speaking to journalists at Jan Smuts International Airport today after his return from Taiwan, the Inkatha leader said so much has been made out of so little for party political gain. John Matham was there:

[Matham] Chief Buthelezi says that now that the dust has settled a bit, it is time to take stock of what actually happened. He says the only thing that is wrong is that the funds were given in a covert manner. He refuses to apologize for the 250,000 rands given to Inkatha because, as he put it, the money was not, I repeat, not used to further an alliance to smash the ANC [African National Congress].

He says the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] is committed to negotiations, and will take part in multiparty talks which are aimed at producing genuine democracy. He takes issue with the ANC, which he says is now acting holier-than-thou about the IFP, despite the ANC having a history of violence and intimidation.

Buthelezi: ANC Not To Decide IFP Talks Role

*MB0808172091 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English
1500 GMT 8 Aug 91*

[Text] Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi says his party's role in the negotiation process in South Africa will not be determined by the African National Congress [ANC] but through negotiations with all relevant parties. Dr. Buthelezi was reacting in Johannesburg to a statement made by ANC President Nelson Mandela that the role of Inkatha as an independent political party was being questioned. He says he was appalled that the ANC had, for political gain, linked the negotiation process to the controversy over covert state funding of Inkatha.

Referring to future relations with the ANC, Dr. Buthelezi noted that a working committee on violence, on which the ANC, Inkatha and the government were represented had met in Johannesburg last night.

He told reporters at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from a tour to the Far East that it had been agreed some time ago, before the funding issue, that a meeting between the Central Committee of Inkatha and the ANC's National Executive Committee should take place and dates had been suggested. He said his party was now waiting for a response from the ANC.

Search Continues for Police Documents Thief

*MB0808125191 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0953 GMT 8 Aug 91*

[Text] Pretoria Aug 8 SAPA—The witchhunt is continuing for the person responsible for stealing secret police documents which enabled THE WEEKLY MAIL to expose the force's covert funding of Inkatha, the SA [South African] Police [SAP] announced on Thursday. The SAP's Department of Public Relations in a statement in Pretoria said the ANC [African National Congress] appeared to be confusing the police investigation into the theft with State President F. W. de Klerk's undertaking to protect people who make available information concerning security force involvement in violence.

"The investigations in question concern the theft and publication of classified information and have nothing to do with alleged security force involvement in violence," the SAP statement said. Police also denied the investigation was aimed at curtailing press freedom. "If this had been the case, the open style of communication which followed the disclosure would not have been adopted."

There was a possibility THE WEEKLY MAIL's publication of information in the stolen documents amounted to contravention of the Protection of Information Act. The confidentiality of secret documents "of this nature" was protected by the act, police said. "No individual or organisation is above the law and the possibility of criminal proceedings resulting from the investigations

cannot be excluded. This decision will of course rest with the appropriate attorneys-general."

CP Withdraws From Joint Constitutional Committee

MB0808193891 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1845 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] The Conservative Party [CP] has accused the Human Sciences Research Council [HSRC] of being a propaganda machine for the National Party and its leaders. The CP spokesman on national education, Mr. Andrew Gerber, was reacting to an HSRC opinion poll which indicated that the National Party enjoyed the most support among South Africans. Mr. Gerber said that the HSRC opinion polls were being branded as unscientific, propagandistic and as being part of the National Party's manipulative tactics.

The poll found that the National Party enjoyed 27.8 percent support among all population groups, the ANC [African National Congress] 24.8 percent and the Conservative Party 4.3 percent. One of the researchers involved in the poll, Professor Hennie Kotze of Stellenbosch, said later that the poll was not representative of, or proportional to the total population of South Africa. He said that the findings were applicable only to the estimated 2,000 people who had participated in the random survey which had been conducted by telephone.

Meanwhile, the Conservative Party has withdrawn from the Joint Committee on Constitutional Affairs because, as a party spokesman put it, the committee was drawing the CP and Parliament into the negotiating process in a cunning manner.

SADF Allegedly Trained Inkatha for Harassment

MB0808201491 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2006 GMT 8 Aug 91

[SAPA carries the following subslug: "(Att subs: Item based on WEEKLY MAIL statement. Police will be approached for comment on Friday.)"]

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 8 SAPA—Friday's WEEKLY MAIL contains a report which claims SADF [South African Defense Force]-trained KwaZulu policemen were used as members of hit squads which harassed and carried out assassinations of anti-Inkatha political figures. Samuel Jamile, a senior KwaZulu cabinet minister convicted of murder earlier this year, is mentioned in connection with the story.

According to the WEEKLY MAIL, their evidence is based on sworn statements from Inkatha dissidents and contradicts claims by State President F.W. de Klerk that the men had only been trained by the SADF to provide security for KwaZulu leaders and VIPs. The newspaper also publishes photographs of a base on the slopes of Ghost Mountain near Mkuze in northern Natal which allegedly was used to plan and launch attacks on African

National Congress supporters. Inkatha officials say the Mkuze base was used for leadership training courses. However, dissident members of the Inkatha paramilitary unit who were stationed there, said in sworn statements they were instructed to carry out missions aimed at harassing and eliminating opponents of Inkatha.

ANC Repatriation Operation for 20,000 Begins

MB0908063691 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0600 GMT 9 Aug 91

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] is putting together a multimillion rands operation to bring home the 20,000 estimated exiles from around the world. As John Matham reports, the ANC hopes all will be home by the end of this year:

[Matham] Repatriation head Jackie Selebi says the operation will cost about 220 million rands and will be overseen by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. It is hoped that the cost of the operation will be borne by UN donor countries who are expected to release funds now that the high commission is involved. Selebi says the ANC will look after the exiles once they have returned. They will be given an initial cash grant of 700 rands and temporarily accommodated in church centers in and around Johannesburg. Selebi also confirmed that the ANC is still examining venues to accommodate about 700 children coming from Tanzania. Their original choice was destroyed by right-wing bombers.

People Forcibly Removed Can Buy Land Back 'Soon'

MB0708090391 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0800 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] The government has announced that people who have been forcibly removed from their land will soon be able to start buying it back. The Natal Provincial Administration [NPA] says it will begin negotiating the sale and return of land on condition that communities accept responsibility for servicing. MEC [member of executive council] Tina Volker says the NPA will start negotiating the sale and purchasing of land at an agreed nominal price within the next month.

Finance Minister on Economic Development, Trends

MB0808171491 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1653 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 8 SAPA—Leaders in government, business and labour had to assess the urgency of establishing a partnership to promote investment confidence that would create the prosperous South Africa everybody wanted, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said on Thursday.

Business confidence was a delicate but precious commodity that converted aspirations into hard cash.

"Nobody is in business for charity," Mr du Plessis said at the opening of Germany's Carl Zeiss Company's new R[and]7 million headquarters building in Randburg, South Africa, like the rest of the developing world, had to take its turn in a very long queue for foreign investment.

Government had to create a stable economic climate for business to plan and to operate. "It is not possible for South Africa with its open economy to be isolated and shielded from international currency and interest rate fluctuations," Mr du Plessis said. "We are all happy to see that to a very large degree a measure of stability has returned to most areas where not so long ago we had a great deal of turbulence."

Constitutionally South Africa was on the threshold of an era in which minorities had to take responsibility of defining themselves instead of relying on the protection of law. In that respect, the much-mooted bill of fundamental human rights would shift sovereignty in the protection of minority rights from Parliament to the judiciary.

Mr du Plessis said business would have to assume a particular risk inherent in the development stage in which South Africa found itself. "There can be certainly no possibility of a totally risk-free investment." Much was being said about kick-starting the economy in order to structure investment. "We must remember that in assessing kick-starts that it will involve government intervention from the point of view of either sacrificing revenue or dishing out cash."

South Africa was approaching the end of an era of suppressed growth potential and the government should be in a position in due course to do much more to stimulate economic development.

Mr du Plessis said mixed signals were emanating from labour circles. In the gold-mining industry wage negotiations had achieved a commendably close relationship between pay increases and the ability of employers to pay employees in the light of prevailing production factors, including the gold price. Even more heartening was the negotiation of incentive schemes correlated with workers performance and production. "If we are to break the stranglehold that double-digit inflation has had on this country for two decades, the third partner (labour) must shoulder its part of that responsibility."

Political and labour leaders had to guard against creating the impression that South Africa was heading for a political and economic dispensation in which tax levels rose above the already-high 25 percent of gross domestic product of the moment. The alternative would be to injure much-needed business confidence.

* 'Social Democracy' Seen as Economic Model

* Defining Term

91AF1295A Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 12-18 Jul 91 p 19

[Article by Reg Rumney: "Engineering a New Order"; first paragraph is THE WEEKLY MAIL introduction]

[Text] Commandist solutions for the South African economy have fallen out of favour. Social democracy is now held out as an answer. But what does it mean? Reg Rumney reports.

Like the term "mixed economy" "social democracy" is a broad brush with which to paint an economic policy.

Unlike Marxism, there is no social democratic bible to turn to for guidance. Social democracy seems by definition to be a matter of compromise. The economic systems of some countries like Sweden and Germany are often held out as exemplars. They are not the only examples, nor are they necessarily the best.

Certain elements of economic policy seem fundamental to qualify for what most people would understand by social democracy:

- Extensive state intervention to mitigate the worst effects of capitalism mainly, but not only, through an extensive welfare net.
- An economy with a free market as its engine.

Add to the above some kind of union participation in decision-making. This could be a social contract between labour and government, or union participation at board level in companies themselves.

Of course, the whole thing must actually work in the sense of leading to prosperity for the country as a whole.

We already have something like a free-market economy in South Africa though it could well be beefed up. A vigorous free-market economy cannot be taken for granted, or encumbered by the other aspects of social democracy. Implicit in most people's thinking about social democracy is that it creates wealth in the most efficient form possible.

This may be the line that divides social democracy from democratic socialism as advocated by South African Communist Party member Jeremy Cronin and others.

Economist Peter Moll in his book, *The Great Economic Debate*, notes: "Socialism did not collapse simply because it had been implemented in an undemocratic fashion or because it had been directed by incompetent politicians." Socialism in Eastern Europe just did not deliver the goods, in both the economic and political sense.

A social contract between labour and business oils the wheels of the capitalist economy, and makes it easier for wealth to be created.

Other ingredients of the social democratic recipe, such as welfarism or the "social wage", ensure that the wealth created is distributed more equitably than pure capitalism.

Just as all economies are mixed to some extent (there is no such thing as pure capitalism or pure communism) all industrialised nations practise some welfarism—even the United States.

What is absent in the U.S. is any real broadly based accord between labour and government, mainly because of relatively low levels of unionisation. This is another feature of social democracy.

State intervention is not an important feature of the U.S. system.

Moll says successive French governments have practised "indicative planning", a mild form of planning in which labour and capital are invited to participate voluntarily. Japan, not regarded as a social democracy, also practices a form of indicative planning.

The Swedish Social Democratic Party doesn't use indicative planning but its politics are instead characterised by centralised collective bargaining.

Some countries that have followed a social democratic path have used nationalisation as a tool of redistribution. However, this is not a necessary element: Sweden has achieved a high level of egalitarianism without any large-scale nationalisation. Indeed, other than its public utilities it has little state-owned industry.

However, this does not preclude nationalisation as an instrument of policy for any future government, as a stick to wield against, for instance, firms which practice racism in their employment policies. This is advocated by Moll. Social democracy does not seem to preclude high levels of economic concentration. A small handful of investors, according to a special report in the *ECONOMIST* magazine last year, control a big chunk of Swedish business. The Wallenberg family in Sweden indirectly or directly controls businesses which account for more than a third of total value of the Stockholm Bourse. In South Africa the chairman of Anglo-American, Julian Ogilvie Thompson, says Anglo controls 30 percent of the shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. *Who Owns Whom* author Robin McGregor says the figure is more like 45 percent. So there may be other reasons for a strong anti-trust policy in South Africa but social democracy isn't one of them.

Concentration of economic power in Sweden is likely to come under pressure from the same market forces that threaten its widespread welfarism, as the country moves closer to the European Community. Sweden's problems, some commentators have suggested, arise in part from the need to change as global markets break down national barriers. Sweden's concentration of control is entrenched by laws keeping control of Swedish companies in Swedish hands.

South Africa too must take into account that whatever system it introduces cannot sail counter to prevailing winds of international trade.

* Political Democracy Needed

91AF1295B Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 12-18 Jul 91 pp 20-21

[Article by Albert A. Blum, professor at the University of the Witwatersrand and New Mexico State University: "The Coin Needed To Purchase Social Democracy Should Have Two Sides"; first paragraph is THE WEEKLY MAIL introduction]

[Text] The equation is simple—political democracy and industrial democracy buys social democracy, Albert A. Blum reports.

To purchase social democracy, the coin needed should have two sides—one side, political democracy and, on the other, industrial democracy.

Labour movements around the world have fought for both political and industrial democracy with different emphases at different times. The fight for industrial democracy, for example, began in Europe in the wake of the union struggle there for political democracy. As workers secured the vote, they then began to focus on government ownership of the means of production as the instrument for workers achieving power at the workplace.

But they gradually recognised that government-owned firms such as the postal system in most Western countries and all industries in the Soviet Union and other communist societies did not necessarily result in workers being better off or wielding more power at the workplace. Employees could be exploited no matter who was the owner. As a result, workers and unions in Western society have become less and less concerned with who owns the means of production, but instead with who is making decisions concerning their use.

There also has been a change in management thinking—partially because most managers no longer own the companies they run but instead are professionals who, because of what they were taught at the universities they attended, executive development courses they pursued, and the magazines and books they read, now often believe that increased participation in decision-making by their employees in the firm is a worthwhile goal for a host of business, idealistic, and manipulative reasons.

And some politicians also view industrial democracy as a necessary ingredient for a functioning political democracy. In West Germany, for example, industrial democracy was seen as one method of preventing the resurgence of Nazism. There are also those who argue that the growth of industrial democracy in South Africa is necessary if apartheid is really to die.

What do we, in fact, mean by the term "industrial democracy"? Like so many terms, it has no exact

meaning. It consists of a variety of elements in varying amounts, all of which involve increased worker participation in decision-making in the firm. It may include workers and unions electing representatives to serve on the board of directors of a firm. It may mean worker representatives, chosen by different groups of employees, who will serve on what is often called works councils where they can discuss a host of topics with plant-level management.

It may include collective bargaining with the end product being a contract which regulates what can take place at the workplace. It may involve management-inspired employee participation plans, for example quality circles, or work design programmes, which give workers more autonomy and say over what takes place at the workplace.

The components differ as do the amounts of each component. They tend to come from different sources. The first two forms of participation, usually called co-determination, have usually been a product of legislation—for example, in Germany. The third, collective bargaining, has been favoured by unions. The last two are a product of management thinking. But in any case like political democracy, industrial democracy is a "state of becoming" not a "state of arrival". It has to be measured against a continuous goal of increased worker empowerment, not complete worker power.

Industrial democracy also requires that the individual employee, not only the group, be protected as a matter of right, not as a matter of managerial largesse. It, therefore, demands the evolution of a legal system, or a workplace jurisprudence, developed through an arbitration system or labour court, to protect employees from improper and unilateral actions on the part of management or unions.

In order to succeed, industrial democracy also has to move hand-in-hand with political democracy, since democratic decisions made at the workplace become a sham when the more basic decisions are made at the undemocratic central state. Moreover, James Madison, the key framer of the American Constitution, argued that a republican society to succeed requires that there must be a number of interest groups in conflict with each other, thereby preventing any single group from becoming too powerful.

Similarly, for industrial democracy to work requires that interest groups also exist, such as managers, manual and non-manual workers, and consumers, who will have the right to and should reflect their own interests in conflict with other interest groups and not be quashed by society in the name of industrial harmony.

Thus participative schemes, which have existed in fascist and communist countries and in authoritarian and paternalistic societies, when the goal is enforced harmony among interest groups, are not examples of industrial democracy. They are instead methods of control by a political clique, however paternalistic the clique.

To complicate matters further, industrial democracy is always in a state of flux. It is a messy system. In contrast, an authoritarian or bureaucratic system may be a blessing to those who desire clarity but is a torment to those who work there. Moreover, there always exists the risk of an illusion of empowerment rather than a fact of empowerment.

It is surely true that workers elected by fellow employees to positions of shared power with management, sometimes, to the dismay of those who elected them, act as if they were managers. Some workers thus become disillusioned with industrial democracy as they think they see their chosen representatives making decisions as if they wore grey flannel suits rather than overalls. And they are often correct! Worker representatives often do take off their overalls. They may not, however, always put on suits, but they surely often put on ties.

But industrial democracy does bring about another change frequently ignored by those disillusioned by worker representatives' change of attire: managers often feel forced to take off their jackets and in their shirt sleeves learn to communicate with their worker-fellow decision-makers. In fact, worker representatives and managers by communicating and sharing information, dreams, and programmes and by learning how to communicate and negotiate with each other will have to come to enough agreements, satisfactory to enough of their supporters, for them to be chosen again to their positions of power.

This will inevitably result in some class collaboration rather than constant class conflict, but democracy, political or industrial, does require some forms of conflict management through some class collaboration, whatever the public pronouncement to the contrary; otherwise negotiations will collapse into anarchy.

Thus, political, industrial, and social democracy make up a strange three-sided coin which has no fixed value, but grows in value as it incrementally, usually slowly, gives you and me more power in government, at the workplace and in society. As a result we will have a voice, even if only a whisper, in deciding our future.

And the fight in South Africa, therefore, has to be not only for the ballot for all and for guaranteed rights for everyone, but also so that those at the workplace, because of legislation or negotiations, will secure an increasing share of the decision-making power concerning what happens at the place where they work. Without both political and industrial democracy, social democracy is a meaningless term, and the three-sided coin will prove to be only fool's gold.

*** Welfare State Viewed**

91AF1295C Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 12-18 Jul 91 p 20

[Article by Reg Rumney: "A Taxing Question"; first paragraph is THE WEEKLY MAIL introduction]

[Text] Can South Africa afford a welfare state? More importantly, will it benefit those who really need aid? Reg Rumney reports.

The idea of having a welfare state in South Africa (and along with it social democracy) has been derided as being unrealistic.

How realistic is it? First note that the African National Congress [ANC] itself in its latest draft economic document talks of a "rising welfare floor". The inappropriateness of the metaphor aside, this shows the drafters of the document understand there can be no overnight introduction of a First World level of welfare benefits.

Economist Peter Moll in a seminal work on the *Great Economic Debate*¹ published recently points out that the level of South Africa's development now is similar to Sweden about 75 years ago.

"In 1990 South Africa's per capita Gross Domestic Product—the total national wealth produced that year divided by the population—was about \$2,500 in constant 1983 dollars. The UK reached this point in about 1890, Sweden in 1915, France in 1905 and Germany in 1935."

Moll then goes on to compare education provision in South Africa with education provision in some of those countries. Education was made free and compulsory for children up to the age of 14 in France in 1882. At the time of writing, education in South Africa was still not compulsory for African pupils except in a few areas.

"It appears that in terms of the provision of primary education, South Africa in 1990 was behind the point reached by Germany, France and Britain when they were at an equivalent level of national wealth. It is therefore not true to say, as conservatives are wont to, that the welfare state or social democratic model is a futile dream."

Moll also says South Africa spent 10.7 percent of Gross National Product (another measure of national wealth) in 1988 on education, health, and welfare. Sweden achieved the 10 percent level only during the 1950s.

Economist Stephen Gelb points out that the real lesson of social democracy in Sweden is to be learned by looking at what happened to Sweden in the Thirties.

"In the 10s, the 20s and the 30s there was a high degree of conflict between capital and labour. The origins of social democracy were in an alliance between the Social Democratic Party which was the part of organised labour and the party organising the rural population." The alliance meant the SDP could come to power with the support of the small farmers, and in return a guarantee of better incomes for farmers was tied to the introduction of a social welfare programme.

So the social contract included those often excluded elsewhere.

In South Africa a social contract purely between labour and capital would allow resolution of conflict in terms favourable to labour, but not necessarily help the poorest 40 percent.

Finally, there is the taxing question. Someone will have to pay for a welfare state, and that means you and I, the taxpayers.

Moll reckons that at the least government spending and tax do not harm growth, and may even aid it. However, he suggests an upper limit of 45 percent of government spending as a share of gross domestic product is acceptable—much higher than South Africa has now.

Research by the SA Fiscal Association indicates this line of thinking is based on the developed world, not the developing world, where government shares of the economy may be much lower. High tax rates are rapidly going out of fashion in the rest of the world.

Still, it's unlikely that with South Africa's great skewness of income and wealth leaving the tax structure as it is will go down well with any new government. Also, inasmuch as it is seen to be unjust it will lead to economic inefficiency, since if people feel the system is unjust they will avoid taxes more readily than those who don't.

For this reason, University of the Western Cape economist Lieb Loots believes that several new taxes should be introduced, at a low rate: a land tax, property tax, capital transfer tax and a low-rated minimum business tax.

In the end, though, it is clear that more emphasis should be laid on directing tax revenue more efficiently towards the poor, with targeted programmes. As national wealth increases, so can the level of benefits.

Footnote 1. Peter G. Moll (Skotaville), *The Great Economic Debate—The radical's guide to the South African economy*.

* 'Social Contract' Option

91AF1295D Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 12-18 Jul 91 pp 20-21

[Article by Drew Forrest: "Social Contract in SA 'Would Serve the Privileged Few'"; first paragraph is THE WEEKLY MAIL introduction]

[Text] What scope is there for a South African "social contract" on Swedish or German lines? The answer seems to be some, but not that much in the short term. Drew Forrest reports.

"Social partnership", "co-determination", "social contract"—terms borrowed from prosperous, high-employment, politically integrated Europe. How relevant are they to our future?

Some would argue that a contract—in the sense of a joint approach to social and economic policy, involving negotiation and compromise by the major players—must underpin both development and a stable, democratic order in South Africa.

The alternative, the argument goes, is the "authoritarian populism" so typical of states to the north: state coercion and the wielding of nationalist symbols to paper over social cleavages.

In some senses local conditions are more favourable than in much of the Third World, where attempts to govern through "class alliances" have not been a conspicuous success.

South Africa has a powerful, organised business class and a labour movement both with muscle and a tenacious will to independence. And there is at least some chance that a future government will respect their freedom to interact: insurrection in Eastern Europe and the rising tide of political pluralism in Africa have discredited the monolithic state.

Already, there are groping moves towards co-management in labour legislation and some key industries. Having clinched an embryonic social contract with employers—on the Labour Relations Act—the black unions are now forging compromise proposals on all labour law in the National Manpower Commission.

And driven together by economic crisis, both sides of the mining industry are trying to chart a common way forward.

But it would be a mistake to think that a fully-fledged partnership on European lines is in the offing; in key respects, conditions are very different.

Successful social pacts have been struck in advanced social democracies with limited unemployment, points out SA LABOUR BULLETIN editor Karl von Holdt. There, unions represent the mass of citizens and the state "can cater for the fringes".

In South Africa, with massive unemployment and deep divisions among workers, there is a real risk that a social contract between labour and capital would serve the privileged few.

"It could lead to a kind of elitism, with a labour aristocracy and a business elite, basically large enterprises, looking after each other," echoes INNES LABOUR BRIEF editor Duncan Innes.

Ideally, interest groups for the non-unionised—civic associations, for example—could be drawn into social partnerships. But, as Centre for Policy Studies researcher Steven Friedman points out, many civics are little more than activist groups with limited capacity to represent township interests or bind residents to agreements.

Organisation among the jobless, "marginal" urban groups such as squatters and hostel-dwellers, and the

rural poor—40 percent of South Africans live in the countryside—is even less developed.

Even among unions, the most highly organised lobby of the voteless, the enforcement of social compromise might prove a major stumbling-block. "It is constrained by workers' reluctance to defer expectations, or to take responsibility for a system from which they are alienated, and by relatively weak internal discipline in a movement which has enjoyed bargaining rights for little more than a decade," Friedman argues in a recent paper.

There can be little doubt that majority rule will help break down workers' estrangement from an economic system not seen to be "theirs". The "greying" of management, inevitable in the new order, might assist this process.

But the rash of recent industrial unrest in countries such as Zimbabwe and Mozambique suggests that sooner or later, the social cement of newfound nationhood comes unstuck.

Friedman quotes unionists as ascribing workers' resistance to negotiated restraint to their "exclusion from economic and industrial decisions".

"In sum, a contract is possible only if employers concede 'power-sharing' at all levels of industry."

There is little sign that South African employers are poised to grant this. Commented one prominent business leader: "It's a tiny stratum that thinks in terms of joint decisions. The average employer sees unions as the enemy."

The recent mining "summit" highlighted the disagreeable fact that even where co-operation is on the agenda, unions and employers do not necessarily talk the same language.

"The starting points are very different," Von Holdt comments. "What business means by a 'contract' is pay restraint and industrial peace. Unions want a much bigger say in investment, the path of economic growth, in industrial and economic decision-making."

Quoting the example of Sweden, where contracts were rooted in an active and mobilised union membership, he added: "Employers want an accord to replace conflict. For unions, the quality of an agreement rests on their ability to struggle and organise."

For Von Holdt, this is where a future state fits in. "If you have a democratic government sympathetic to the union movement, an alliance between labour and a political party, you have a much more powerful bloc to lean on employers."

What is notably absent in South Africa is a common ideology of social partnership. Unions may call for a negotiated restructuring of industry and the economy but they couple this with militant socialist rhetoric. "The

effect is to scare employers," said one business leader. "They see participative management as a step down the slippery slope."

The maintenance of sanctions was a further deterrent to an open management style, he added.

There is consensus that non-controversial areas such as training and literacy hold out the best prospects for co-operation in the short term. Labour law, which challenges management prerogatives only tangentially, has been a fruitful starting-point.

But in the longer term, employers will have to concede much more than this—if only in their own interests. "The implications of political change have not sunk home to the average white employer" was one businessman's comment.

* 'Social Contract' Examined

91AF1295E Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 12-18 Jul 91 p 22

[Article by Nicoli Nattrass, economist at the University of Stellenbosch: "The 'Social Contract' Needs Some Central Coordination"; first paragraph is THE WEEKLY MAIL introduction]

[Text] The need for some form of "social contract" between labour and business is accepted by most. But what this contract entails and the state's role in making it work must also be examined.

"Social contract" has become something of a buzz word. Business leaders often punctuate their speeches with references to the need for a social contract but their understanding tends to be narrow and self-serving.

Nedcor's "scenario planners" advocate a social contract in which business builds houses in return for communities promising to honour their bond payments. In this context, the social contract is a risk-minimising device designed to reconstruct the ground rules for successful market relations.

Anglo's Bobby Godsell, on the other hand, has argued for a social contract involving a more constructive set of relationships between labour and capital. For Godsell, this can happen both at a national and enterprise level. Such a contract would be focused on workers and employers rather than communities and investors.

Both visions accept the need for negotiation in order to legitimise, and hence stabilise, key contractual relations under capitalism. Key relations include: "If we lend you money, you must pay it back with interest" and "if we employ you, you must not undermine the viability of the firm".

The problem with these contracts is, of course, that the owners of capital hold all the cards. When interest rates rise, home-owners sit helplessly and watch the family income being siphoned off in ever-increasing quantities

by the local financial institution. Workers are in an equally invidious position when inflation erodes their real wages and inflates profits. Talk of exploitation under these conditions has a very real ring to it.

However, as the eminent Keynesian, Joan Robinson, once observed, there is only one thing worse than being exploited and that is not being exploited at all. Everybody is worse off if there are no jobs and no finance available to build houses. Social contracts, in whatever guise, are thus potentially progressive. They force capitalists to recognise the legitimate demands of workers and communities in return for less destructive confrontation. By institutionalising negotiation over key contracts such as the wage contract and the lending contract, the simultaneously conflictual and co-operative nature of such bargains is explicitly recognised by both parties.

However, a future South African social contract needs to be far more than a set of isolated bargains. Firstly, a certain amount of central co-ordination is required if inflation is to be contained. There needs to be generalised agreement between labour and capital to limit wage demands and price increases.

Secondly, significant redistribution through the state Budget is a necessary partner to wage restraint. It is unreasonable to expect workers to agree to dampening wage demands unless the "social wage" is boosted by spending on education, health and welfare. The hallmark of the successful Scandinavian social democracies has been precisely the link between a high social wage and stable industrial relations.

Thirdly, the state must actively intervene in the field of productivity enhancement. South Africa's poor productivity performance has long been bemoaned and used as a stick to wield against the union movement. While it is true that wage growth faster than that of productivity has contributed to the profit squeeze, it is not true that this has been the "fault" of workers.

For all the fine words we hear from the private sector about the marvels of free enterprise and path-breaking entrepreneurs, the truth of the matter is most South African industrialists are over-protected and far from innovative. The pickings have been too good for too long from the domestic market and patronage networks with the state. The development of a dynamic and robust export sector has suffered as a result.

In this context, there is no guarantee that the surplus freed as a result of wage restraint will in fact be used to boost investment and productivity. Lower inflation may well be the only pay-off. This is economically and politically unacceptable. It also makes a mockery of any social contract involving wage restraint as part of a policy designed to save and revitalise the economy.

There is thus a further vital role for the state—namely to encourage, cajole and ultimately force South African business into becoming more innovative and competitive. Technological support should be provided by the

state and such protection as exists should be made dependent on performance criteria. Those companies which fail to expand employment and productive capacity, or explore export markets, should have their tax advantages stripped away.

If workers have to become responsible partners in production, then capitalists must match this—and be forced to match this—with aggressive marketing, expansion and innovation.

Only then will a social contract carry with it any widespread legitimacy or economic clout.

* German Experience Noted

91AF1295F Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 12-18 Jul 91 p 21

[Article by Mondli Makhanya: "The Human Face of Capitalism"]

[Text] Free marketeers are prone to pointing to the Federal Republic of Germany as an example of capitalism's success. Indeed, this country, with its social market economy, certainly presents capitalism with a human face.

With barely any natural resources to ride on, the German economy has resurrected itself from Second World War destruction to being the third most powerful economy on the globe.

The German experience may have lessons for South Africa since Germany had to rebuild an economy from wartime destruction and rose to dominate central Europe economically. By the same token, South Africa must emerge from international isolation and sanctions and is set to become the economic powerhouse of southern Africa.

Germany's social market economy—founded on the principle of "as little government as possible, as much government as necessary"—has produced what is probably the most advanced social security system on the globe. The country's free market economy has built in mechanisms for government to intervene on behalf of the small man and to protect citizens from hardship.

Forming about one third of GNP, social security expenditure caters for the pensioners, the unemployed and the disabled.

For the 10 percent of the unemployed working population there is an "unemployment benefit" which is available for a year after a person loses a job, and amounts to 68 percent of an individual's last salary. After one year a 58 percent "unemployment support" is payable.

The social security is paid for from contributions of those in employment. A prerequisite, therefore, for a successful social welfare system is an economy that generates employment and income for a significant portion of the population.

South African German Chamber of Commerce's Klaus Volker Schuurman says "you can only distribute the cake once you've baked it."

Volker cautions about providing too much social security, because "if you look after people too much you can stifle private initiative"—the basis of a free market economy.

In a country where about 70 percent of the GNP is produced by small to medium sized businesses there are stringent anti-trust laws to prevent monopolies from taking root. The Bundeskartellamt—Office for Anti Trust Enforcement—makes sure these laws are adhered to. There is also a body to prevent the formations of cartels and price fixings.

Says Volker's deputy Matthias Boddenberg: "You need state intervention to guarantee the proper functioning of the free market."

The country's encouragement of the crafts has gone a long way towards ensuring that the small business sector remains vibrant. The crafts provide about nine percent of GNP and employ 15 percent of the workforce.

Boddenberg says the social contract between labour and business has helped Germany mechanise.

* Swedish Model Defended

91AF1295G Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 12-18 Jul 91 p 22

[Article by Pieter le Roux, director of the Institute for Social Development at the University of the Western Cape: "Still Lots To Learn From Scandinavia"; first paragraph is THE WEEKLY MAIL introduction]

[Text] Present-day problems of social democracy in Sweden have been used by the left and the right dogmatists to attack the economic mode. Pieter le Roux argues the Swedish model still has much to offer.

A democratic South Africa cannot imitate South Korea, China or Sweden. South Africa has her own unique characteristics, and her own particular strengths and weaknesses. But given the particular problems we face there are many lessons to be learned from the Scandinavian experience.

Given the nature of conflict in South Africa only strategies which are broadly social democratic can successfully see South Africa through the next decade and beyond.

By stressing the shortcomings of the Swedish economy today the impression is created by dogmatists on the right and the left who are unwilling to make the social democratic compromise that the system has failed. During the first 50 years of social democracy the Swedish economy grew faster than any other in the world except that of Japan.

Social democracy was not initially implemented in rich countries. In 1920 more than one fifth of the Swedish

labour force was unemployed and a very significant proportion was living in abject poverty without decent housing and with limited access to proper health care and to good schooling.

By 1970 the average Swedish worker was far better off than workers in any other country. During the past 20 years, unemployment has been virtually non-existent—hovering around two percent of the labour force.

Income differentials had been cut to the minimum (the average income of the top decile being only 50 percent more than that of the bottom decile), and through public involvement an outstanding housing, schooling and medical system had been established.

Phelps Brown, the famous labour economist, found that after income tax had been levied and after welfare payments made, income was far more equally distributed in Sweden than in any other industrial country in the world, including the countries in the socialist bloc.

Swedish workers—by opting to concentrate on the redistribution over time of income, wealth and opportunities, and by emphasising control of the processes rather than the actual ownership of the means of production—had succeeded in creating a society in which the ordinary worker was not only better off financially and in welfare terms than in any other industrial country, but also had more effective control over his conditions of labour than anywhere else in the world.

Moreover, Swedish business, having decided to co-operate with the social democratic government and the trade unions rather than trying to undermine and destroy the labour movement, also plucked significant benefits.

During the first 50 years of social democracy Swedish workers' productivity rose at a rate second only to that of Japan. Swedish firms became very profitable and internationally most successful.

Different explanations have been put forward for the economic problems Sweden has been suffering in the past 20 years.

Some have argued that Sweden has become the victim of its own success. The low rate of unemployment leads to wage drift which, together with a high tax burden, continuously undermine the competitiveness of the Swedish economy. In other words, social democracy has been pushed to its limits.

Others blame an earlier decision to stay out of the European Community.

It can also be argued the Swedes are paying the price of putting the environment before economic growth. Restrictions on the production of virtually all types of electricity has, for example, put an upper limit on the level of production which could feasibly be sustained.

What is important for South Africa is not whether we will 50 years down the road run into the kind of economic problems Sweden faces today. It is whether there are not important lessons to be learnt from the Swedish experience during the first few decades after 1920, when as one of the poorest countries in Europe their problems were in many respects similar to South Africa's today.

It is impossible to know if South Africa can reach a social democratic compromise during the next few years.

Given our history, it will be a far more difficult task to accomplish than it was in Sweden. But because of the balance of forces in South Africa it will not be possible in the next few decades to follow either a pure free market or socialist route.

The different groups and classes in South Africa are condemned either to fight each other to the death or to make a social democratic type of compromise.

*** Dutch Reformed Church's SACC Bid Postponed**

91AF1296C Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 5-11 Jul 91 p 17

[Article by Pat Sidley: "Saying 'Yes' Isn't Easy After 40 Years of Pain"; first paragraph is THE WEEKLY MAIL introduction]

[Text] The Dutch Reformed Church [DRC], which upheld apartheid for so many years, will have to provide tangible evidence of its "about turn" before being readmitted into the fold of the South African Council of Churches [SACC].

It came as a shock to many to hear in this era of "reconciliation" that the South African Council of Churches had not welcomed the application of the Dutch Reformed Church to join as an observer member.

For those looking for an insight into popular reaction to President F. W. de Klerk's reforms and the National Party's attempts at negotiations, the debate at the conference provided some real insight.

At its annual conference last week, the SACC decided to postpone deciding on the application for a year, during which time the DRC was to "attend to certain matters". To put it more bluntly, the DRC's apparent move at reconciliation was rejected.

But to anybody sitting through the week of the conference and listening to the tenor of the debates, it came as less of a surprise.

For the delegates, many of them black, voteless, detained and tortured by police who belonged to the DRC, it was too much to take it back without some explanation to show the DRC was sincere in its moves.

The DRC had decided at its synod last year to apply for observer membership. It had been a landmark synod in

which the DRC had made large strides towards declaring apartheid a sin—but had circumscribed its definition of apartheid so that many, including the white DRC's black sister church, rejected the moves as insufficient.

It had also made some moves towards unification with its black sister churches—but these, too, were hopelessly inadequate from the perspective of those churches.

Earlier this year, the executive committee of the SACC had recommended to the conference that the DRC's application be accepted—it was a move, according to insiders, supported by SACC general secretary Rev. Frank Chikane, who has too much to do with DRC assessor and former moderator, Professor Johan Heyns.

At last year's historic National Conference of Churches at Rustenberg, the DRC itself had confessed to the sin of apartheid. This had unleashed other similar confessions and helped produce the declaration of the Rustenberg conference which was, in itself, a long confession.

But the sister churches of the DRC had not accepted the sincerity of this—and they had good reason. The white church—aside from its track record on the issue of apartheid—had resisted all attempts to unite with its black churches into one non-racial reformed church. It was a complaint the sister churches (the Dutch Reformed Mission Church and the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa) brought to the SACC and which fell on fertile ground.

Early on during the SACC's conference, Chikane found himself under fire for his role in the various committees which have sprung up within the clergy to negotiate some kind of peace deal. The forum for some of the meetings has been the steering committee of the Rustenberg National Conference of Churches. On the committee is Heyns, along with the Rustenberg co-chairman, Dr. Louw Alberts—a conservative lay theologian. Chikane is the other co-chairman.

Recently, both Alberts and Heyns have been on a facilitating committee with Chikane which arose out of State President F. W. de Klerk's Conference on Violence and Intimidation.

SACC delegates queried the apparently sidelined role their organisation was having to play. The SACC, delegates noted, was the institution which had consistently called for justice and peace and campaigned for an end to apartheid and its violence. Now these Johnny-come-latelies were suddenly espousing the same aims—

and reaching the media more frequently than Chikane in that context, with no acceptable track record.

It was a point made by Dr. Beyers Naude, honorary life president of the SACC, who told delegates that it was widely perceived that the SACC was being sidelined and that other forces with unexplained motives seemed to be taking over. He said he had doubts about the motives of the DRC was beginning to question De Klerk's integrity.

At the end of the week the "Rustenberg debate" had turned into a motion which restricted the SACC general secretary's moves in connection with the Rustenberg committee, but allowed him the freedom to work as a peace negotiator in the broader context of the facilitating committee, which on June 22 had had spectacular success in bringing together everybody—except the far right—to discuss peace initiatives.

All these emotions and more arose in the debate about the DRC.

The motion for acceptance of the application had few supporting it and an amendment proposed by the assessor of the (coloured) Dutch Reformed Mission Church, one of the DRC's sister churches, failed too.

The motion eventually passed was posed by Dr. Nico Smith, a white former minister of the DRC, who became disaffected with it and is now on the moderation of the (African) Dutch Reformed Church in Africa. Only one vote opposed the motion in the end.

Before the application is reconsidered next year the DRC has been asked by the SACC to:

- Issue a clear statement that it is withdrawing its previous accusations against the SACC.
- Provide a clear and public motivation of its reasons for applying to become an observer member of the SACC.
- Enter into discussions with its sister churches to normalise relationships between them.
- Declare its willingness to criticise this and any future government in terms of the Gospel.

The view of the conference was summarised by Anglican Bishop Duncan Buchanan who said: "We are trying to find a way of saying 'yes' while we are wrestling with the pain of 40 years of attacks and brutalisation by the Dutch Reformed Church."

All the delegates stressed that they wanted to see the DRC back in the fold of the SACC but with tangible evidence that it meant what it said.

Angola

UNITA Reportedly Hinders Governor's Movements

MB0808204691 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Excerpts] Malanje Province Governor Joao Ernesto dos Santos Liberdade was today prevented by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] forces from touring an area of his jurisdiction. Colonel Liberdade, heading a provincial government delegation, intended to assess the reconstruction of the bridge over the Lucala River, which was damaged by UNITA forces during the war.

UNITA guerrillas manning a road block some 25 km from Malanje city, prevented Col. Liberdade from going further. Despite talks held yesterday between Lieutenant Colonel Tobias, commander of the Malanje Military Zone, and Colonel Chimuko, his FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] counterpart, a FALA guerrilla captain, who refused to be identified, merely carried on talking over the radio to his seniors, while the government delegation waited. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, in Luanda, Salupeto Pena, head of UNITA's delegation to the CCPM [Joint Political and Military Commission], commented on the situation:

[Begin recording] [Pena] First of all, this is yet another example of the confusion resulting from misinformation which we have been witnessing. Things did not happen as reported. Nobody prevented the governor from going to wherever he wanted to go. Actually, there was a lack of communication. Our CMVF [Joint Verification and Control Commission] representative has informed us that there was a lack of communication.

The accords state that central government administration should be extended to areas which are not yet under the control of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola. The accords state that government and UNITA teams should deal with this situation. We are about to begin implementing this aspect of the accords. UNITA's team has been established. We are waiting for the government delegation to plan the extension of the central government's administration, but one must realize that there are areas under the control of government and UNITA. Unfortunately, this is the aftermath of the war. So, a number of issues have been distorted. We are not surprised about it.

[Mateus] Mr. Engineer, does that mean that no provincial governor is allowed to tour areas controlled by UNITA?

[Pena] No, it is not a question of not being allowed. Whenever we move in government areas we inform the authorities. Likewise, the government authorities should act accordingly whenever they move in UNITA areas. This has nothing to do with the movement of people and

goods. One has to take security precautions whenever officials move in our areas. If our people in the field are not informed in advance who will assume the responsibility for any incident?

[Mateus] Does that mean that if a governor intends to travel through a UNITA area he must first report to UNITA forces?

[Pena] That is the system that we have been using since the signing of the Angolan peace accords.

[Mateus] Doesn't that measure restrict the government's powers?

[Pena] A governor's powers refer to areas under government control. We are attending to the extension of the central government's administration to the entire country. The peace accords are very clear on this issue. So, it is not a question of restricting powers, but instead something that has been clearly defined. We have been operating accordingly.

[Mateus] To what extent can the law be bent? In the present case we have a provincial governor whose authority has been recognized because UNITA recognizes the government under the terms of the accords. So, I would like to hear your views about this because the governor is not a civilian, but someone whose authority is recognized under the terms of the accords.

[Pena] The CCPM has been established for a specific purpose. So, any problem can be dealt with by the CCPM. The role of the commission is to assist in the adjustment of the situation as agreed by the two sides.

[Mateus] So, you mean that this is a problem that must be dealt with by the CCPM.

[Pena] No. What I mean is that the CCPM has been established for that purpose. Each side is entitled to raise such matters within the commission. Afterward, we discuss the matter, and then settle it in the field.

[Mateus] So, you are admitting that UNITA soldiers were entitled to prevent the visit by the provincial governor, and that the CCPM will in the future discuss this issue. Is that the case?

[Pena] Frankly speaking, Mr. Ismael Mateus, I think we will have problems in understanding each other. We are not talking about sufficient powers to prevent things from happening. We are talking about a specific situation as it is, and how can the peace accords resolve such an abnormal situation that has been caused by the war. We have acknowledged that the situation is abnormal and has been caused by the war. Furthermore, we have stated that the CCPM has been established in order to deal precisely with that type of situation.

Frankly, Mr. Ismael, the way you have been evading the whole issue makes it difficult for us to understand each other.

[Mateus] Pardon me, but I am not evading any issue here. I am presenting an issue in order to try to draw my conclusions based on what you have to say. I asked you a question and, frankly Engineer, I expected you to give me an answer, and then come to a conclusion. Your answer was negative, and I accept that.

[Pena] Frankly, Mr. Ismael, I am not denying anything. What I have said is nothing new. The CCPM has been established to deal with that type of matter. The CCPM must deal with issues raised by both sides. We do not evade issues at the CCPM because its role is to listen to problems and then deal with them. That is what I have told you. [end recording]

Malange Governor on Incident

*MB0808214091 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 8 Aug 91*

[News conference by Malange Province Governor Joao Ernesto dos Santos Liberdade with unidentified reporter in Malange city on 8 August—recorded]

[Text] [Liberdade] Today, 8 August, we were scheduled to tour Calangula District. We reported this to UNITA's [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] command 48 hours ahead of schedule [words indistinct]. We then left for Calangula. Unfortunately, we were prevented from reaching our destination because FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] elements said that they had not been informed by their superiors.

This is a new situation affecting the Bicesse accords. We believe that everything that FALA elements have been doing in Malange and in other Angolan provinces is in line with instructions from UNITA's leadership. So, it does not surprise me that FALA's decision to prevent our tour was in line with instructions received from Savimbi. They did not act on their own. This is a violation of the accords signed in Portugal.

The honorable journalists have had the opportunity of seeing that FALA elements are still armed. They carry weapons at control posts, and here in Malange city. Our FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] combatants are not armed because they are complying with government instructions. The important thing is that we are complying with the accords, and have accordingly returned to Malange city. UNITA must assume the responsibility for that incident.

[Reporter] We have been informed by residents that UNITA established that road block today because it was conducting a population census in the area. Can you confirm this?

[Liberdade] I have the same information. They are conducting a population census in the (Quinquelege) area. That is true.

[Reporter] Mr. Governor, what happened today was a violation of the accords. It appears that UNITA is violating the accords daily. What measures will be taken,

because there are reports that crimes have already been committed, and the residents are being intimidated?

[Liberdade] The CCPM [Joint Political and Military Commission] is responsible to deal with any incidents that might take place within the framework of the implementation of the peace and cease-fire accords. What we see in the field is that the CCPM is not very worried about the problems taking place in the provinces. The CCPM has been established to deal with incidents between FAPLA and FALA, and so on. But what has been taken place in the field is something different. For all intents and purposes FALA elements are in charge because we are not reacting accordingly. We are worried about this. Our delegation to the CCPM must assume its responsibilities. It must do something.

For instance, I have already sent four messages to Mr. Lopo do Nascimento, who is the government's coordinator within the commission. I have already sent three messages to General Gato, who is a member of the government delegation, and of the Joint Verification and Control Commission. They have not answered to date. So, they must assume their responsibilities whenever problems take place in the field.

UNITA Said Preventing People's Free Movement

*MB0908072291 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 9 Aug 91*

[Text] Small traders and farmers can only pass through UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] control posts in Malange Province after very thorough searches of their cars. This kind of thing has been happening in Malange Province's Quilima and Cambundo-Catembo Districts, where UNITA prevents people from freely traveling to the provincial capital to acquire consumer goods. UNITA alleges that people going to that area are taking information to the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola].

The FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] forces have been establishing control posts in various places. They prevent the free movement of people and goods whenever they feel like it. They also continue to intimidate people.

Government, UNITA Generals Meet 7 Aug

*MB0708202691 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 7 Aug 91*

[Text] Generals from the government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], as well as senior officials from the countries closely following the peace process, met this afternoon within the framework of guidelines issued at the last plenary session of the Joint Political and Military Commission. The meeting took place behind closed doors. A reliable source said, however, that the members of the Joint Verification and Control Commission [CMVF] were carrying out the final coordination for the establishment

of regional CMVF groups, which are vital for the confinement of troops to specified areas. According to the source, the meeting also examined mechanisms which [words indistinct] state administration throughout the country.

Army To Demobilize POW's Released by UNITA

*MB0908062091 Luanda ANGOP in Portuguese
1924 GMT 8 Aug 91*

[Text] Luanda, 8 Aug (ANGOP)—A reliable source has announced in Luanda that the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] prisoners of war released by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] on 27 July will be demobilized by the Angolan Army on Friday [9 August]. The source also disclosed that they will be sent to home with money given by the government. Two officers, including a former Angolan Air Force pilot, are among the former prisoners set free on 27 July.

'Discrepancies' in UNITA POW Figures Viewed

*MB0908074491 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 8 Aug 91*

[Text] There continue to be discrepancies in the numbers of International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC]-interviewed prisoners of war [words indistinct] a source has disclosed that the ICRC has already interviewed 914 prisoners of war in the Angolan Government's jails, which exceeds the number in the list presented by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] to the Joint Political and Military Commission, CCPM. Only 458 prisoners were interviewed in Jamba. That figure is lower than the one submitted by the Angolan Government, which was in excess of 1,000 prisoners.

The source also said that the prisoner release process would resume in ceremonies to be held in Luanda and Jamba at the same time on Saturday [10 August]. Tomorrow the Angolan Government and UNITA members in the CCPM are scheduled to hold a special meeting with ICRC representatives to clear up a few differences and ensure the resumption of the prisoner release process.

Opposition Leader To Run for National President

*MB0708203691 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 7 Aug 91*

[Excerpt] Professor Manuel dos Santos Lima, president of the Angolan Democratic Unity Movement for Reconstruction, has announced in Lisbon his candidacy for the Angolan Presidency. Prof. Manuel dos Santos, who is expected to arrive in Luanda next week at the latest, has called for the holding of a national conference bringing together the government and all political parties to discuss the principal problems facing the nation. [passage omitted]

USSR Fishing Talks To Define New Cooperation

*MB0408091091 Luanda ANGOP in French 1930 GMT
3 Aug 91*

[Text] Luanda, 3 August (ANGOP)—Engineer Andrade Silva, head of the Foreign Fishing Fleet Department in the Fisheries Ministry, told the ANGOLAN PRESS AGENCY yesterday that the Angolan Fisheries Ministry and the USSR are currently holding talks aimed at defining a new form of cooperation involving a reduction in fishing boats. He said there is a need for a new form of cooperation now that Angola has introduced a new economic philosophy based on privatization. He said the 10-year contract authorizing Soviet trawlers to fish in Angolan waters expired 31 July.

The Angolan official said contracts signed with other foreign enterprises are either valid for three months or one year, with the exception of a 10-year contract signed with the EEC which will expire next year.

A total of [figure indistinct] foreign fishing boats are currently operating in Angolan waters, including 50 from the EEC, 17 from Spain, nine from the PRC, and nine from Japan.

*** South African Businessmen Visit Companies**

*91AF1262K Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 25 Jun 91 p 3*

[Text] Angolan and South African businessmen met yesterday in Luanda, to arrange direct contacts between the parties.

Led by Andrew Magss, president of the group for commercial development in Africa (SAFTO [South African Foreign Trade Organization]), the South Africans are looking to invest in the areas of civil construction, general specialized commerce, construction of off-shore platforms, oil refining, and the manufacture of locomotives.

The meeting was attended by Angolan businessmen and directors of the energy and water supply sectors, the National Angolan Fuel Company (Sonangol), the National Steel Company, the "Lobito Corridor" and the Railways.

The South African businessmen will be in Angola until Thursday, when they will depart for Johannesburg. Meanwhile, they will visit some Angolan enterprises specifically, "Constroi," Importang [Angolan Import Bureau], Endiama [Angolan National Diamond Company], the National Directorate of Railways, Nocal [expansion not given] and CUCA [expansion not given].

This is the third time that South African businessmen connected with the SAFTO have visited Angola.

*** Seminar Points to Private Sector's 'Fragility'**

91AF1262A Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
(2o CADERNO SUPPLEMENT) in Portuguese
23 Jun 92 p 7

[Commentary by Mario Paiva]

[Text] The initiative to hold the first national conference on the private sector, taken by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in collaboration with the Angolan Chamber of Commerce and Industry (CCIA), the Industrial Association of Angola (AIA), and the Office of Business Reorganization (GARE), was both timely and relevant, because, despite the climate of changes—more talked about than effective—to a market economy, the private sector remains a poor relation in the nation's strategies, policies, and programs.

Still, it is necessary to know what the implications are here and now for the nation's private sector. The available data confirm the fragility and youth of the sector. Of the 1,857 companies surveyed by the GARE in the country in 1987, only 1,260, or 68 percent of all the companies, were considered to be exclusively private. The most significant datum in this business universe is that almost all of these 1,260 companies (1,158, or 92 percent) are engaged in commerce (617), industry (323), or transport (218). There are no data for the agricultural sector, which we already know to have been devastated and idled by the war and associated factors. According to the GARE statistics, the private sector absorbed 27,000 workers in 1987, or 10 percent of the total manpower employed in the formal productive sector. This is a very small fraction, considering that the 544 state companies employed 210,000 workers, or 79 percent of the total. The remaining 11 percent of this manpower is distributed over the mixed companies, companies under state intervention, and cooperatives. We would only add that, with an active population estimated at 3.5 million in 1987, the total number of jobs generated by the formal productive sector (267,000) corresponds to less than 8 percent of the economically active population. This means that the great bulk of the economically active population is in the informal sector.

In addition to this fragility, the private entrepreneurs have admitted to a great ignorance of economic policy, government legislation, mechanisms, commercial opportunities, and opportunities for investment, credit, and domestic and foreign financing.

Admittedly, this lack of knowledge is not simply the result of government inefficiency, but also the low level of our business class.

The private entrepreneurs made many demands, from reform of the public administration and even-handedness and openness in the government institutions to the need for firmness in the economic and monetary reforms, the exchange rate, the price and wage system, and all the other actions involved in the financial system;

support for the PME's [small and medium-sized businesses]; creation of a securities market; and credit mechanisms for the acquisition of public companies or assets. In this very long list (too tedious to enumerate) of proposals by the private sector, what is very clear is the inadequacy or, to speak plainly, the ineffectiveness of the reforms in progress. The conference conveyed this sentiment—and also, and above all, the feeling that institutional and political obstacles, in addition to the well-known situation of the moment, play an important role.

It is important, then, that the dialogue between the policy decision-makers and the business class be honest and effective. If the government really wants to get somewhere, it cannot allow itself to keep changing the speed and direction of the ship.

Perhaps we would not be very far wrong in stating, with regard to private enterprise, that the critical discourse would be improved by the presence of a protagonist. It should not be thought—this is true for everyone—that the economy can be imported like cases of Heineken's or Coca Cola.

*** Luanda Experiencing Increasing Inflation**

91AF1262D Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 25 Jun 91 p 1

[Text] The cost of living in the nation's capital rose 4.82 percent in May, in relation to April, according to the price index prepared by the National Statistical Institute [INE], to which JORNAL DE ANGOLA had access. Since November 1990, the cumulative inflation rate is 97.1 percent.

The sample of basic products was identical to the one used in the INE calculations in the previous months; that is, 150 items, priced in the three types of market in Luanda: unofficial, official, and foreign exchange [i.e., stores in which purchases are made in foreign currency].

The greatest variety of products is found on the unofficial market, and the percentage of consumers who resort to it remains constant: 78 percent.

The category "health and medical services" showed the largest increase between April and May (25.9 percent), followed by "housing, fuels, and electricity." Since there has been no rise in housing rents or in the water and electric rates, the explanation for the increase is found in lamp oil (up 12 percent) and, above all, in an item about which, up to now, there has been little statistical information: "water by the barrel," which, according to the data now published, has gone up almost 64 percent.

The influence of these two factors on the overall average is still smaller than "food, beverages, and tobacco" (up 4.52 percent) and "clothing and shoes" (up 5.03 percent). Two other indicators rose less than 1 percent, while transportation, communications, and a category defined as "other goods and services" remained unchanged.

The same data revealed that the average between the two months in reference (May and April) is less than half that registered between April and March and 1 percent above that for the March-February period.

It is noted that in January the overall increase in prices in Luanda was 34.5 percent, which contributed decisively to the high rate of inflation in the last six months. The general picture is one of irregular fluctuation, making any forecast difficult.

The behavior of the category "food, beverages, and tobacco" will be extremely important, because it constitutes the major portion of household expenditures. The May-April variation in the food category was 3.38 percent, as against 11 percent for beverages and 19 percent for tobacco.

Because of the number of products marketed and the number of consumers, the unofficial channels are the best indicators of the evolution of the cost of living. The INE bulletin shows that between November and May, prices in this market increased by 95.5 percent, almost equal to the cumulative inflation for the period.

Two factors will have a decisive influence on the price curve: first, the supply in the sectors of major demand and, second, the official exchange rate. (When the rate changed in March, it caused prices in the free shops to "shoot up.") The import system and possible surtaxes will also have to be considered.

* Travel on Luanda-Viana Railroad Described

91AF1262C Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 22 Jun 91 p 2

[Article by Manuel Muanza]

[Text] As we were entering the railway coach, we narrowly escaped stepping into a hole that had opened up in the rotting flooring. During the trip we talked of nothing but the fate in store for the anonymous passenger who will have the misfortune to stumble into that hole, which is big enough to swallow up a child.

Beside us, a man was resting lazily on the skeleton of what had once been a padded seat. "A guy can't eat well and sometimes he can even go hungry all day," he was remarking to his sister, who was sharing the seat. He went on: "Today I got paid these 10,000 kwanzas in wages," he patted his shirt pocket. "I'm going to Roque Santeiro and all the money will stay there. Is this any way for a guy to live?"

The lamentation of this Luanda Railways [CFL] worker brought to mind the words of CFL director Antonio Agante: "The CFL personnel are good people, for whom I have great regard. I'm sorry that we cannot pay them more than we do." Moreover, we learned that the deprived railway workers do not benefit from the special "food basket"; they are paid the lowest wage going today.

The whistle sounded. The train snaked along the track like an endless elastic cord; the unfriendly railway cars appeared to be jostling each other. The houses scattered along the railway tracks accompanied the movement of the train. The poorest of them shook with the roar of the locomotive. Some houses, a few centimeters from the tracks, lightly brushed the sides of the railway carriages.

At kilometer 4, the train stopped. This is an invisible station; there is no ticket counter. Passengers are getting off and others were boarding freely. The inspectors would collect their new kwanzas later.

A young man got on without the knowledge of the inspector, through the open window. A mother tripped on the rusty steps and the basin which she was carrying on her head clattered to the landing and rolled away across the dusty floor, while the old woman hurled curses at the engineer.

During the trip to Viana, JORNAL DE ANGOLA learned that freedom of the press had not yet come to the CFL train. Men who called themselves security and physical safety officers prevented our photographer from taking pictures. They arrogantly barred our passage from car to car. Not even our JORNAL DE ANGOLA identity card was enough to settle the problem. The men shouted obscenities and exhibited their tiny green passes. They were doing their thing. What to do? Here in Angola everyone is his own master and can do anything. This is the people's republic....

At the ticket window at the Muceque station, a ticket costs 40 kwanzas. At the Viana station you pay 50 kwanzas for a ticket. In Bungo, people were paying 40 kwanzas for their fare.

On the return trip to Luanda, the men with the green passes looked at us with indifference. Not even the caressing breeze from the sea calmed their spirits. This time we were traveling under the protection of the chief of the train, a sociable gentleman, but exhausted by the work and by the poor social conditions.

Late bulletin: the Luanda Railways have introduced railway coaches that have been restored by the company technicians. We will no longer be traveling in carriages full of holes. The promise was kept.

Comoros

Mayotte Radio Says Situation Remains 'Confused'

EA0808205691 Mayotte Radio France Overseas
in French 1600 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] A confused situation continues to prevail in the Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros six days after the abortive coup bid in Moroni. The latest news reaching us from the islands report the suspension of negotiations between the Moheli Coordination Committee chaired by Ali Hasan Ali and the central authorities. The announcement was issued at a time when

Moheli island is preparing to receive President Said Mohamed Djohar. Mr. Djohar is due to take part in Friday prayers there on 9 August.

In the view of the Coordination Committee chairman, the reasons for the rupture are linked to the worsening of the political, economic and social situation in the Comoros, particularly the serious institutional crisis resulting from the 3 August events. Mr. Hasan Ali believes that only the holding of a true, genuine, and sovereign national conference is likely to foster a mood of confidence. He wants observers from the UN and some world powers such as France to be allowed to attend the national conference.

Coup Leader Reportedly Asks for Pardon

EA0708124291 Moroni Radio Comoros in French
1700 GMT 6 Aug 91

[Text] [Passage indistinct] A letter addressed to the head of state by one of the authors of the abortive coup d'etat, reportedly asked the president of the Republic to pardon him. Thus, he is apologizing, given that he had been misled and even threatened [words indistinct] and that he would like to meet the head of state, but he considered himself too ashamed to [words indistinct], nonetheless, it is an important element in the problems posed in the judiciary's point of view [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

Madagascar

Razanamasy Inaugurated as New Prime Minister

EA0808204091 Antananarivo Radio Madagascar
Network in Malagasy 1600 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Excerpts] Prime Minister and head of government Guy Willy Razanamasy took office today at Mahazoarivo State House. It was this morning that the transfer of power between the former prime minister and new Prime Minister Guy Razanamasy took place. The new prime minister affirmed his readiness to assume the responsibility of forming a new government.

[Razanamasy] [passage omitted] If there is no incident, I will make public the names of the members of my government on 10 August. At that time, I promise I will issue a statement explaining to the Malagasy people: This is [words indistinct], this is how we are going to lead the government, these are our objectives, [words indistinct] our duty completed, Mr. Guy Razanamasy returns safe and sound to the Antananarivo town sub-prefecture.

New Premier Views Forthcoming Tasks

LD0808155291 Paris Radio France International
in French 0630 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] Here is the first reaction from the new Malagasy prime minister, Guy Razanamasy, a reaction which has just reached us. He spoke this morning and he has just

stated that he feels that he has a free hand after his appointment by President Ratsiraka. Listen to him:

[Begin recording] [Razanamasy] I have already told the president the conditions which are necessary for me to succeed in my mission and for me to have every latitude to appoint the government and to have great freedom of action. There you are. I think that I shall have the powers which are necessary for me to achieve these elections.

[Reporter] Can one speak of full powers?

[Razanamasy] That is a word which means nothing. One has to have the necessary and essential powers to carry out, first, the revision of the Constitution, the referendum, and all that in the shortest time possible; then to establish the third republic and proceed with the elections arising out of it. If I get to that point I will have ended my mission, and I shall return to my fiefdom. [end recording]

Opposition Rejects Razanamasy

LD0808203791 Paris Radio France International
in French 1830 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Excerpts] [Announcer] General Rakotoharison, the president of the Malagasy Republic appointed by the opposition, rejects the appointment of the new Prime Minister, Guy Razanamasy. The main reason for this rejection is that the new premier is not a member of the committee of the Active Forces—that is, the coordination of the Malagasy opposition—the General says. More details from correspondent Jean Helene:

[Helene] The most radical of the Malagasy opponents have immediately rejected the appointment of Mr Razanamasy because he is not a member of the Active Forces—that is, [word indistinct] of the people. The more moderates waiting to talk to the new premier before giving their opinions also gave negative reactions. Mr Razanamasy is reported to have obtained what is remarkable—that is, full powers except whatever concerns foreign affairs and defense. We are not fools, say the opposition leaders: Mr. Ratsiraka can take back the powers he delegated any time. The national union Mr. Razanamasy wishes for his government will thus not be achieved. The (?UNSI) [expansion unknown], one of the dissenting parties in the Active Forces, has not said yet that it is hostile to its possible participation in the new government. Its leaders will meet Mr. Razanamasy on Friday morning. On Saturday, the Active Forces will hold a peaceful march to the Presidential Palace to demand the departure of President Ratsiraka. Jean Helene, Antananarivo, RFI.

[Announcer] As for Albert Zafay,—the prime minister appointed by the opposition—he is more evasive in his reaction. He has warned the new prime minister concerning the formation of a government which would include former ministers. Albert Zafay spoke to Jean Helene:

[Begin recording] [Zafay] Guy Razanamasy will not find solutions to the problems.

[Helene] Is it a presidential palace decision to open up to the opposition, do you think?

[Zafy] It depends on the substance and power given to him. If, as prime minister, he appoints former ministers, well, I am not sure if this is an opening up [ouverture].

[Helene] He says he is looking for a national unity government. Will this satisfy you?

[Zafy] This will be decided by [word indistinct] because national unity could mean many things. National unity for them could mean bringing back former ministers, and hand pick from here and there some personalities—that is, they want to keep the rein of power within this government. The (?RG) [expansion unknown] will never accept this. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Announcer] Will the new prime minister, Guy Razanamasy keep former ministers in the government he is forming? We listen to the new prime minister, whom Jean Helene asked what kind of government he intends to form:

[Begin Razanamasy recording] National unity with many technicians and if possible with new faces, but I also know that I am compelled by virtue of the existence of many dossiers of negotiations with foreign governments to bring back some former ministers whose images have not been soiled by rumors. Whoever the man, it is the dossier that counts for me. [passage omitted] [end recording] [passage omitted]

Mauritius

Premier Says Elections Scheduled for 15 Sep

AB0608093091 Paris AFP in English 0852 GMT 6 Aug 91

[Text] Port Louis, Aug 6 (AFP)—Mauritian Prime Minister Sir Anerood Jugnauth dissolved parliament Tuesday and announced that general elections would be held on September 15. Candidates have until August 23 to register. The 1987 general elections on the Indian Ocean island were won by an alliance of Jugnauth's Mauritian Socialist Movement (MSM), the Labour Party and the Social Democratic Party (MSDP). However, a year ago the latter two parties deserted the coalition forcing the MSM to forge a new alliance with the Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM).

Mozambique

Peace Talks Reportedly End Without Agreement

MB0808194891 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1935 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] Less than a month after their return to Rome for the seventh round of peace talks on Mozambique, the

government and Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] delegations will this weekend leave the Italian capital without signing the long-awaited cease-fire accord. Successive working sessions held separately between the mediators and the warring factions failed to secure further debates following Renamo's rejection of the mediators' proposals and reciprocal political guarantees.

Renamo says that the seventh round of talks is something from the past, and now one has to wait for the decisions to be made at the upcoming fifth [as heard] Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Congress scheduled to begin in Maputo on 12 August. Sources close to Renamo say the Frelimo Congress will press the Mozambique Government to make further overtures to Renamo demands, thereby making further political concessions to the movement at the Rome talks.

Ex-Captives: Renamo Preparing Zambezi Offensive

MB0508132291 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 5 Aug 91

[Text] Citizens who recently fled Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] armed bandit captivity in Tete Province have disclosed that Renamo is preparing a major military offensive in the Zambezi Valley. They said that preparations for the offensive have included the massive forced drafting of citizens in Changara District in an attempt to strengthen Renamo's military ranks. Renamo is preparing that offensive at a time when efforts are under way for peace in Mozambique.

Mocumbi Returns From Islamic Conference 7 Aug

MB0708175091 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1400 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] Foreign Minister Pascoal Mocumbi said in Maputo today that the members of the Islamic conference under way in Istanbul, Turkey appreciate the ongoing peace efforts in Mozambique. The Mozambican official also said that the members condemned the continued violence of apartheid in South Africa. Mocumbi was speaking to the news media this morning after attending the 20th ministerial conference of the Organization of Islamic Conference due to conclude in the Turkish capital tomorrow. Outside the conference's proceedings, the Mozambican foreign minister held meetings with his Indonesian and Bruneian counterparts, as well as with the Saudi ambassador to Turkey.

Views Ties With Islamic Countries

MB0808125291 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi has disclosed that Mozambique is to establish diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia, Brunei, United Arab Emirates and other Islamic Conference countries. He added that contacts are under way to draw up a

time-frame for formal ties between Mozambique and those Islamic countries. Minister Mocumbi announced this in Maputo yesterday shortly after his return from Istanbul, Turkey, where he attended the Organization of the Islamic Conference's 20th ministerial conference.

Kenya Allegedly Provided Support to Renamo

*MB0908072191 Cape Town SOUTH in English
18-24 Jul 91 p 7*

[Report by Ruth Ansah Ayisi: "Kenya's 'Special Favours' for Renamo (Mozambique National Resistance)"]

[Text] The Mozambique Government has released documents showing that Kenya has been linked, at least since 1988, in a clandestine support structure backing anti-Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] forces.

This comes after President F.W. Klerk paid an official visit to Nairobi on June 15 and 16. Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi said the visit marked the beginning of a new relationship.

South Africa has also been known to support Renamo in the past.

The documents captured from Renamo, prove that Kenya has also been backing the rebel guerilla group.

The papers show that the Kenyan Government, all the way to the office of the President, has provided diplomatic status to Renamo and arranged for "special protocols".

The Kenyans provided logistical and financial support in collusion with Malawi.

The 200 pages of incriminating documents were seized in mid-April from a Renamo base at Nhamagodoa in Maringue district of the central province of Sofala. Much of the documentation is made up of transcripts of radio messages to Renamo's leader, Afonso Dhlakama.

Typical is a radio message from the Renamo representative in Kenya dated May 9 1988.

Under the code name "Joseph", the Renamo officer reports: "I am in Kenya and I met with the Kenyan Government. The Kenyan president asked me to stay in contact between him and your excellency, President of Renamo. The people in Kenya trust me and want this operation to be very secret."

Later, on May 17, the once Canadian-based Renamo secretary for information, Francisco Nota Moises, relayed a message from Kenya saying that the Kenyan authorities planned to assist Renamo "as much as possible because of interference from Frelimo".

No details of the "interference" were given.

The next day concrete promises of support were relayed through Nota. "Kenya will provide travel documents

and air tickets from Malawi and will arrange the airlift from the interior (of Mozambique) to Malawi. Kenya will work with Malawi concerning security and secrecy."

The message also said that "Kenya requests your excellency to present a budget of needs, financial and material".

The documents show that the Kenyan Government was involved with Renamo a year before Arap Moi was asked to mediate in Mozambique's peace process in 1989.

Diplomatic sources said at the time that Kenya's apparent lack of impartiality while mediating between Renamo and the Mozambican Government became politically awkward, and reached a low when unconfirmed reports emerged in 1990 that Kenya was providing military training for the rebels.

Other transcripts reveal Renamo's problems of finance. In an unsigned and undated document, Renamo's intention of smuggling ivory is touched upon: "We need missiles with capacity for helicopters, MiGs and other types of planes besides Dakotas," said the message.

"I would like to know the price of every missile. I would also like to know the price of every kilogram of ivory. Renamo can arrange ivory."

Still more documents confirm Renamo knowledge of atrocities committed against Mozambicans in their own country and in Malawi as well as raids into Zimbabwe where Zimbabweans were tortured and killed.

*** Finance Ministry Holds Seminar on Privatization**

*91AF1270D Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
28 Jun 91 p 7*

[Text] A seminar designed to consider all methodological aspects of the process of privatization of the state enterprises in Mozambique by encouraging a frank and constructive dialogue among the various governmental organs involved was held yesterday in the nation's capital, in an effort to achieve unity of thinking on many questions of a technical nature.

The seminar was organized by the Technical Unit for the Rehabilitation of Enterprises (UTRE) in the Ministry of Finance. UTRE is an instrumentality for carrying out privatizations, and has the financial support of the World Bank through the International Development Agency. The seminar attempted to clarify certain questions relating to the privatization process, and in particular how to define and identify Mozambican enterprises of major economic importance; stimulate and expand the domestic business community; and analyze the respective roles of the manager and the entrepreneur.

The seminar set out to find answers to these and other questions, such as the method of financing the privatized enterprises; the decision as to which is the more important aspect of privatizing, the rapid acquisition of greater

revenues for the State or the phased expansion of production activities; the State's role in those enterprises in which it will still have a financial interest after privatization; and how to manage those State interests—questions on which the reports and presentations were largely focused.

Speaking at the opening session of the seminar, Deputy Finance Minister Boaventura Cossa explained the reasons for the creation of the Project for the Rehabilitation of Enterprises. The project has been viewed as a logical extension of the measures for the revival of economic activity that are advocated in the government's program and have received major support from the international community.

Boaventura Cossa said that the Project for the Rehabilitation of Enterprises—whose main objective is to restore the utilization of the production capacity achieved in the years that followed the proclamation of national independence—is part of the government's strategy for turning the economic crisis around.

"The purpose of the project," the deputy finance minister emphasized, "is to restore production and initiate the growth—in a sustained and efficient form—of certain previously selected enterprises." He added that another immediate objective is the physical and structural rehabilitation of a group of 15 enterprises regarded as essential for the growth of the various sectors of the economy.

After pointing out that there was no desire to diminish the worth of the recovery processes already under way, Boaventura Cossa said the participants in the seminar should analyze the objectives of the project from a broader perspective: in other words, understand the goals for the medium term rather than merely consider the value of the financing already obtained through their efforts, which is in any case also important, inasmuch as a preliminary estimate puts that figure at more than \$100 million.

The enterprises which in this initial phase are included in the project have all been studied with a view to determining their potential viability. The deputy finance minister added that this procedure is designed to ensure that the future investments are made on a solid basis, thereby minimizing insofar as possible the risk of failure.

He said that there have unfortunately been several more or less recent examples of initiatives which contrary to predictions yielded negative results, with disastrous consequences for the enterprises themselves and for the national economy.

He indicated that the government is mindful of the problem and aware that the scarce resources available must be utilized with precision and efficiency, because only in this way will the desired objectives be achieved.

It was with this objective in mind that the Technical Unit for the Rehabilitation of Enterprises was created in

the Ministry of Finance. UTRE is the organ responsible for the implementation of the project, and its principal function is to coordinate all activities relating to the project. Its creation is intended to ensure the support that the enterprises require in preparing their rehabilitation plans.

The deputy finance minister said the principal objectives of the project are to expedite the process of rehabilitation and reorganization of the enterprises in general; strengthen the managerial capability of the enterprises by creating internal conditions for the exercise of greater managerial autonomy; expedite, in close cooperation with the respective ministries that have jurisdiction, the promulgation of legislation that gives the enterprises greater managerial autonomy; and provide technical assistance to the enterprises in preparing their projects for rehabilitation and reorganization.

Boaventura Cossa also believes that the new domestic economic situation demands immediate consideration of certain questions. These questions include: the degree of intervention that should be reserved to the State in the entrepreneurial area; the strategy that should be employed in the other sectors; how to make the interests of the State compatible with those of the business community; and how to carry out the gradual transfer of ownership in those areas where it is desired that private enterprise play an active role.

He added that all these questions relate to an institutional clarification of the role of the State in the economy and a clear definition of the ownership of many economic units which for various reasons have heretofore been operated by the State. He pointed out that in practice this means that the State must define those areas of activity in which it should maintain its presence, and those areas that should be reserved for the private sector.

*** Ministry of Cooperation Announces Various Plans**

91AF1288C Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
8 Jul 91 p 3

[Article by Mozambique Information Agency]

[Text] Before the end of this month, the Ministry of Cooperation is planning to take a census of all foreign technical personnel living in the country. This information was revealed by an AIM [Mozambique Information Agency] source close to that ministry.

The source said that the census of the foreign technicians stems from a recommendation made by the National Seminar on Policy and Programming Relating to Technical Cooperation [SNPPCT] held in Maputo in February.

Among other topics, the seminar discussed the strengthening of the sectorial and provincial structures involved

in the programming of technical cooperation and integrated in the combination of instruments involved in macroeconomic administration.

The seminar also analyzed the integration of the National Program for Technical Cooperation within the scope of the annual consultations made with various partners cooperating with Mozambique.

In May the Council of Ministers approved a document giving guidelines on the Policy of Technical Cooperation [PCT] which encompasses a plan of action for 1990-1991.

The document stipulates that the plan of action of the first National Program for Technical Cooperation [PNCT] covers 1991 and the sectors considered of a priority nature.

In that document the Council of Ministers proposes as general objectives the establishment of policies and plans for institutional development, keeping in mind the creation of a greater national autonomy and reducing the need for foreign technical cooperation through the development of national capabilities.

Support for the reorganization of public administration to deal with the need for institutional reform stemming from the policies of decentralization of the administrative system is another objective which the program is trying to achieve; an effort is also being made to provide essential goods and services to the most vulnerable groups of the population.

* **Zambezia Formulates Economic Recovery Plan**

91AF1289D Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
10 Jul 91 p 3

[Text] A provincial government plan aimed at the socioeconomic recovery of Zambezia Province stipulates the use of all the productive capacities existing in that region of the country, particularly those of the work force of Mozambicans returning from the ex-GDR [German Democratic Republic]. Consideration has been given to the possible impact that their training and qualifications could have on the reinforcement of the industrial sector.

The aforementioned plan, already being executed, stipulates that this year's production from Zambezia's social and economic sectors should attain a growth of at least 5 percent. It explains that the family sector, constituting the main agricultural production bloc, will be encouraged through the availability of incentives for marketing.

Reports from Zambezia note that the local government upholds as a priority the incentive for increased production and quality of products: a factor that will ensure a rise in productivity and profitability for enterprises, particularly those of the state.

According to the same reports, the Zambezia government's social and economic plan for this year furthermore recommends an increase in the local production of

seeds adapted to the ecological regions. Its purpose is to cut costs of imported raw materials.

Since the materialization of this plan necessarily entails implementation of a maintenance system for the existing machinery, the reports indicate that the provincial government has expressed receptiveness to the mobilization of foreign investments in recovering state enterprises. It stresses as other objectives to be attained through this plan a reinforcement in the technical capacity of the district agricultural directorates and an expansion of the role of rural extension workers among the family sector.

In the industrial area, the plan that we have been discussing calls for growth in the sector's production volume, removal of products, and promotion of small- and medium-sized enterprises, including the training of national entrepreneurs in Zambezia.

In its plan, the government of this province does not, however, call for substantial growth in the investment area, although the overall volume anticipated for this year appears larger than that of last year.

Nevertheless, proposed as objectives to be met in this area are the promotion of small-scale irrigation projects, and a reduction in the state's participation in financing the roads program and the rehabilitation of the Quelimane-Namacurra road (45 km). Also proposed is intervention in the following sections of roads: Alto Molocue-Gurue, Gurue-Mutuale, Mocuba-Maganja da Costa, Mocuba-Lugela, Mocuba-Milange, Ile-Namarroi, Quelimane-Madal, Chinde-Sambo, and Recambo-Abreu.

In the supply area, the Zambezia government calls for a 43 percent increase in the distribution and consumption of the leading products. From the standpoint of the origin of resources, however, the internal market's dependence on the external market will persist.

* **Official Announces Inhambane Redistricting**

91AF1288D Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
8 Jul 91 p 3

[Text] This month there will be a redefinition of the territorial limits of certain districts in Inhambane Province within the scope of the preparations for the general census of the people to be held throughout the country. This process will cover all of the districts of this part of the country, beginning with the north—namely, Vilankulo, Govuro, Inhassoro, and Mabote. This announcement was made by Samuel Languane, head of the Provincial Office for the General Census of the People in Inhambane [GPRGP].

The redefinition of the territorial limits of certain districts and cities of Inhambane Province began last year, having been interrupted for a few months in preparation of the second phase of the demographic survey, which included bringing the population count up-to-date.

"This task was performed in all areas of the province, despite the continuous movement of the people who felt

insecure due to the activity of certain armed segments of the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] faction," said Languane. He then went on to say that the general population census cannot be taken at this time, since the country is not in position to accomplish the job in sufficient time.

Survey to Occur in August

The last general census of the population in our country occurred 11 years ago, precisely in 1980. Officials connected with the process stressed that, despite the conditions prevailing at that time, the general census was a success in that it provided a wealth of information regarding the country's social and economic plans.

It is therefore for the purpose of obtaining up-to-date information on the country's demographic and socioeconomic reality that the national demographic survey is to be held in August of this year. This process will make it possible to update the information on hand and, as a result, provide further information regarding the life style of the Mozambican people.

According to our spokesman, the demographic survey in Inhambane will take place, as we said, in August. It will cover the provincial capital in particular and eventually the city of Maxixe.

"What is decided is that the survey will take place in the city of Inhambane, the only question remaining being to choose the particular site: the urban area, the suburbs, or the rural area," said the head of the GPRGP in Inhambane. He then went on to say that the "information obtained from the two cities will provide a sampling of the people's living conditions."

With regard to the redefinition of the territorial limits of certain districts and cities in Inhambane, to be reinitiated this month, Samuel Languane said that two joint brigades have already been selected from the Offices of Geography, Census Registration, and Physical Planning, the two brigades to concentrate on the northern section of the province. Other teams may be added later if field conditions warrant.

The national demographic survey will cover both national and foreign citizens who, at the time of the survey, are residing in the national territory and are selected to take part in the sampling.

* Sofala Draws Up Postwar Reconstruction Plan

91AF1288F Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
2 Jul 91 p 8

[Text] "The government of Sofala Province has decided to draw up a plan of action involving the social and economic reconstruction of the area, the purpose being to help the people follow the best course of action in keeping with postwar reconstruction," said Governor Francisco Masquil recently.

The governor made this announcement in the district of Nhamatanda during a visit he made to that area of Sofala to observe the progress that was made since his last stay in that district.

Masquil said that he is convinced that there are many people who would like to return to their place of origin, since, as is known, most of the Mozambican people can be considered as displaced persons or, at a minimum, people living in temporary areas as a result of the war.

According to him, as soon as the situation becomes normal, we shall need better means of transportation, good roads, and proper water supply; in short, everything should begin to function properly. "We are drawing up this kind of program in order to know what we shall do after the war," he said, "for we believe that we shall have peace, since the government wants peace."

Meanwhile, a general observation of the situation in Nhamatanda District enabled the governor to ascertain that the leaders of that region are doing a good job from the political, economic, and social viewpoint.

Year of Hunger

Nhamatanda District is considered by the local authorities to be subject this year to serious food shortages as a result of the drought, insect plagues, and late rains—calamities which have already occurred and which have become common in almost the entire country for several years.

These phenomena are occurring coincidentally at a time when there is talk of a drastic reduction in cultivated land of that district as a result of the war. Commenting on this matter, Governor Masquil said that "so long as we do not have peace, we shall have to consider alternative solutions, such as opening up other areas where the people can have greater security and achieve greater production."

He asserted that drought is not confined to Nhamatanda but occurs in nearly all of the districts of that province. He advised other families with greater financial possibilities to purchase products on the market, while the government will support those who are in dire need.

"It is not possible for the government to give money and food to all of its people. Priority is given to those who are nearly starving, for our resources are limited," he said. "Meanwhile, we are now studying and working on the problem of where to find seeds for the next agricultural campaign."

The fertility of the Nhamatanda soil favors the production of such crops as cotton, corn, sorghum, artichoke, and sesame. For example, in the 1990-1991 campaign, 26,531 hectares of various crops were planted; of this total area 14,342 hectares were lost due to the drought. Despite this situation, it was possible to obtain a yield of 13,840 tons of various products.

On this occasion, a farmer told Governor Masquil that there had been an irregularity in the seed distribution process, "that instead of the seeds being properly sold, they had reached the district late, in fact, beyond the normal seeding period."

The Sofala official expressed the opinion that Nhamatanda could become the biggest agricultural producer in the province; he suggested that the district government aid the farmers as much as possible in their efforts to reduce the need for foreign support, which gave rise to the Nhamatanda Project.

End the War To Produce

Meanwhile, at a meeting he chaired marking the end of his three-day visit to Nhamatanda—accompanied by the NOTICIAS reporting staff—Francisco Masquil centered his remarks around the peace process, referring specifically to the provincial government's plans associated with the emergency.

He also mentioned the fundamental aspects of the changes made in the laws of the Constitution of the Republic, saying in this regard that now every Mozambican can, in accordance with his capabilities, compete in the presidential elections or create his own party, so long as he has the pertinent requisites.

In speaking in general about the peace process in Mozambique, he said that the major points on the agenda have been approved but not yet discussed. He reminded those present of the consequences that the war to the Mozambican people, emphasizing that the cease-fire should be initiated as soon as possible.

While in Nhamatanda, the Safala governor visited a number of economic and social sector entities.

Administrator Denounces Violation of Rome Accord

Paulino Saimone, administrator of Nhamatanda District, denounced the fact that, even with the partial accord reached in Rome between the Mozambique Government and Renamo, the latter political organization on two occasions violated that accord, killing at least one citizen, damaging part of the railway line, and ambushing a vehicle.

However, he stressed that the people's morale in the district is fairly positive and that in the two places where these incidents occurred, the Committee for Verification of the Accord made an investigation in order to ascertain the facts.

According to that official, in the areas not covered by this agreement armed raids continue to occur, resulting in the assassination of defenseless civilian citizens, the sacking of their personal possessions, and in some cases burning their houses.

According to official information, the perpetrators of these criminal acts have suffered heavy losses inflicted

by the Mozambique Armed Forces [FAM], resulting in the destruction of bases and the saving of hundreds of Mozambican lives.

In one of the offensives carried out in the Metuchira loop in Nhamatanda District, the FAM reported killing four armed individuals, wounded and captured two others, and seized three light weapons whose caliber and origin were not revealed.

* Frelimo Preparations for Sixth Congress Viewed

91AF1289A Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
8 Jul 91 p 1

[Text] The chief of the Central Planning Office for the Sixth Congress of the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Congress and Politburo member, Feliciano Gundana, categorically denied that the endeavor to introduce changes that is under way in the country has been influenced by outside forces. He claimed that it was due, rather, to the consciousness acquired within the party of the need to gear the institutions to the situation of growth in government agencies. Feliciano Gundana made these remarks last Saturday, during a press conference granted to national journalists on the preparations for the Frelimo's Sixth Congress, scheduled to take place in the nation's capital this August.

The chief of the Central Planning Office for the Frelimo Party's Sixth Congress backed his claim by declaring that the changes taking place in the country did not begin with the approval of the Constitution currently in force. He added that, as early as 1986, there was a debate on the revision of the Constitution, and some changes were made: specifically, the creation of the positions of prime minister and president of the People's Assembly.

He remarked: "We cannot view the occurrence of the changes in 1990 as related to the day that the new Constitution took effect."

He was asked about the allegations that the Frelimo Party is benefiting from the misfortunes of new political forces emerging in the country, for example, the upheaval in the Palmo [Liberal and Democratic Party of Mozambique] leadership, and also about the possibility of winning the first multiparty elections. The chief of the Central Planning Office for the Sixth Congress replied that Frelimo is striving to strengthen its party, and that it was too early to claim that it might win the coming multiparty elections. He attributed this to the fact that, "It's something far off, because Frelimo has not yet presented its electoral strategy."

He was also queried about the promises made by the Frelimo Party throughout its years of governing, which it has not yet kept. Feliciano Gundana maintained that, "Frelimo is not the government," adding that it has always admitted its mistakes to the people.

In this connection, the chief of the Central Planning Office for the Sixth Congress asserted that the Frelimo

Party's mistakes have always been revealed. He gave the example of what occurred at the Fifth Congress, when the members of this political group made a self-criticism of the party itself, so as thereby to find solutions for overcoming those very mistakes.

He stressed: "We must also remember, however, that the one directing this process is Frelimo. It was Frelimo that decided to put the Constitution to a debate."

Regarding a possible renewal of the Frelimo Party's top echelon at the Sixth Congress, Feliciano Gundana claimed: "Renewal is nothing new in the party. It is done in all the party's organs. At this congress the voting will be secret, and the Frelimo militants themselves can be candidates for any party organ."

When asked about the participation of foreign parties at the Sixth Congress, the chief of the Central Planning Office for the Sixth Congress precluded that possibility. He maintained that only nationals within the country and the Mozambican communities abroad will participate in the Sixth Congress. Feliciano Gundana added that he did not know whether the political parties that are emerging could take part in the Sixth Congress; but he noted that Frelimo was represented at the Palmo Congress.

The Frelimo Party's Sixth Congress was moved up for reasons associated with the need to adapt the statutes, programs, and directives to the new reality being experienced in the country, as well as the necessity for defining the party's electoral strategy and its renewal.

The preparations for the Frelimo Party's Sixth Congress have involved essentially the creation of provincial and district planning offices for the Sixth Congress throughout the country, and the sending of brigades from the Central Office to all the provinces and neighboring countries. Their purpose, among others, is to mobilize the planning process on the local level, to disseminate the methodology for studying the Congress documents, and to collect information on the current status of fulfillment of the specific directives for planning the Congress.

*** Kupela Addresses Youth Conference in Gaza**

91AF1289B Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
10 Jul 91 p 3

[Text] The secretary general of the Mozambique Youth Organization [OJM], Zacarias Kupela, considers the youth's massive involvement in tasks related to defending national unity and the fatherland's ideals, and preserving and appreciating national independence, "an extremely important issue." Kupela recently spoke in Xai-Xai, during the OJM's Fifth Conference in Gaza, an event taking place in that province's capital as part of the preparations for the OJM's National Conference set for this month in Maputo.

The meeting, which lasted two days, was attended by 78 delegates from the province's various districts, and during it 15 delegates were elected for the OJM's National Conference.

According to our contributor in Xai-Xai, at the meeting the youth of Gaza expressed their determination to "find mechanisms very soon that will make their improved integration into society and the efficient operation of their organization possible, considering the changes occurring in the country."

In fact, at the conference the comment was made that it has become "quite urgently necessary and essential that every effort be fostered with a view toward lending the organization a stable economic and financial autonomy, so that it will be possible for all the ideals of the organization in the region to be fulfilled."

For this purpose, the OJM members in Gaza were encouraged to continue more aggressively promoting activities aimed at collecting funds.

The OJM in Gaza Province has been engaged in various activities intended to reinforce it from a financial standpoint. Noteworthy are the funds, "extremely useful to the organization, which are being collected through the operation of one of the province's best restaurants"; something that has allowed for a relative degree of stability in the organization.

Other Activities

Moreover, according to the report submitted at the conference by the provincial secretary of this youth organization in Gaza, the OJM currently has nearly 10 hectares of land for agricultural production in the irrigation zone located in the Xai-Xai region. There, rice is being produced, and there are also various other projects, such as fishing operations in the Massingir, Zongoene, and Chilaulene areas, where young fishermen's associations are operating. They have taken significant steps in the direction of prosperity and improved organization.

The report submitted at the conference cites other projects in a rather advanced phase of study, some of which will have financial support from nongovernmental international organizations. An example of this is NORAD [Norwegian International Development Authority], which has already expressed willingness to finance an OJM local carpentry shop.

The ISCOS, a trade union-type organization in Italy, has, for its part, expressed willingness to back projects in the agricultural area, particularly in the Xai-Xai green zones belt. It will also support the OJM fishing sector in Gaza.

Relations With Religious Youth Organizations

During the course of the activity at the Fifth Provincial Conference emphasis was placed on the fact that excellent relations are occurring between the OJM and the various religious youth organizations. This holds true,

specifically, of the young people affiliated with the Christian Council of Mozambique and the Islamic, Catholic, and Hindu communities.

Cited by way of example were the various meetings held, at which topics relating to the heightening of moral and civil education, as well as love for the fatherland, among the province's youth were discussed.

With over 21,000 members throughout the entire province, the OJM is nevertheless facing certain difficulties with its operation in that region. Some of them stem from the renewed outbreak of war in certain districts, forcing the young people into constant movement.

*** Gaza Continues To Need Emergency Food Aid**

91AF1288E Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
2 Jul 91 p 3

[Text] More than 290,000 people displaced by the war and another 190,000 victims of one sort or another in Gaza Province are in urgent need of food in the amount of 3,000 tons. This information was revealed at a recent meeting of the Department for the Prevention and Control of Natural Disasters (DPCCN) whose purpose was to analyze the activities carried out throughout the first six months of this year.

Joao Manuel Zamissa, director of the DPCCN in Gaza, who chaired the session, said that throughout the first six months the emergency situation in the province has got continually worse due to the constant outbreak of criminal activity by the armed bandits of Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] and that, in addition, there was a constant threat of flooding on the part of the Limpopo River, both of which factors resulted in the constant and uncontrollable movement of the people.

In fact, the distribution of grain during the period of December through May of this year amounted to about 500 tons per month compared with the 1,200 promised by the international community and intended to take care of about 116,000 people.

To make the situation worse, since the beginning of the year, access to the district of Massingir continues to be dependent on military escorts, while for the districts of Mabalane and Chicualacuala railway transportation is available. Moreover, access to Massangena continues to depend on the Chicualacuala and Zimbabwe itinerary. With regard to the headquarters of Chibuto District, the channeling of emergency goods is handled by way of Inhambane Province.

In addition to the complex situation involving access to the districts, attention was called to the weak response or confirmation of the promises made by the international community to provide emergency assistance.

Despite not being able to cover the needs of people seriously affected by the war and natural calamities, the DPCCN in Gaza managed to offset the provision of insufficient quantities of food products at its disposal to

the best of its ability by providing seeds, agricultural tools, used clothing, and shoes for children. It also assured the supply of consumer goods to the ECMEP-ILO [Road and Bridge Construction and Maintenance Company-?International Labor Organization] project, associated with the restoration of the roads in the province.

Difficulties

However, despite the efforts made by the DPCCN, there are still serious difficulties facing the people who reside in districts along the valley of the Limpopo—namely, Guija, Chokwe, and Chibuto—due to their continuous movement resulting from the activity of the Renamo bandits.

At the present time, Gaza Province has 298,402 persons displaced by the war, as well as 197,467 war victims of one sort or another. In the previous period there were not enough donations made to satisfy the commitments made by the international community—namely, 1,200 tons of food products per month.

"The activity of the DPCCN is now becoming more complicated, since, to take care of the greater number of the needy, we would need more than 3,000 tons of food," said director Joao Zamissa.

Again in accordance with Joao Zamissa, the DPCCN should develop its plan of action to be more in keeping with the country's reality; and this implies contemplating the role it will be playing in the postwar period, for on that occasion it will be necessary to harmonize its activity with that involving considerable prevention and development.

In this regard, Joao Zamissa said that measures have already been taken to make the existing human and material resources more profitable, thus making the people's support more rational under difficult circumstances.

*** Status of Nampula's Farming Sector Viewed**

*** Agricultural Campaign**

91AF1290A Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
10 Jul 91 p 3

[Text] The government of the province of Nampula held its second regular session last Monday. The meeting, under the direction of Governor Alfredo Gamito, was expanded to include the district administrators. The preliminary status of the 1990-1991 farm campaign was assessed during the session, as was the status of preparations for the marketing of cotton.

Food supplies, the marketing of grains and oleaginous crops, the security situation, and the status of law and order in view of the rising wave of crime being experienced in the cities of the province were among the other themes discussed by the members of the provincial government.

Sources familiar with the agenda for the meeting informed reporters at our office in that region of the country that the formal signing of a working agreement between the DPCCN [Department for the Prevention and Control of Natural Disasters] and German Agrarian Action, a nongovernmental organization which has functioned in the emergency aid sector in the province of Nampula since 1988, also took place at that session.

At the beginning of the session, Governor Alfredo Gamito installed a number of officials in the state apparatus, including Benedito Brito Joao, who was installed as head of the Provincial Culture Department, and Joao Wacitela Macome, the new head of the Provincial Cashew Department. At this same session, the deputy provincial director of finance was also installed.

However, due to an insensitive attitude on the part of some members of the secretariat for the session, our reporters were not allowed access to the meeting hall, or to the documents distributed at the meeting. As a result, the public was deprived of information about the achievements and production indices of the sectors discussed, which in our opinion is of vital importance.

* Rice Cultivation

91AF1290B Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
1 Jul 91 p 3

[Text] An experiment to increase the production of rice seed in the district of Nampula-Rapale will be carried out during the coming farm season at the Namaita administrative station. The project is designed to accelerate the production of this grain in the family sector, our reporters have learned from local sources.

The choice of the Namaita region for carrying out this experiment was dictated by the fact that it offers excellent farming conditions. Namaita has areas exceptionally well-suited to agricultural methods. An additional factor contributing to the development of rice cultivation is that much of its area is virgin land.

The purpose of this experiment in multiplying rice-seed production in the Namaita region is to stimulate the family sector by means of steadily increasing cultivation of this crop. It is also expected to accelerate the production dynamics in the peasant sector so that the region can produce farm surpluses. This would make it possible to increase marketing in the region.

In past eras, Namaita was the largest rice-producing area in Nampula. Therefore, the execution of this experiment should serve to reactivate and speed up widespread rice cultivation. The family sector in Namaita, in the Nampula-Rapale district, is regarded by those in agricultural circles as the best catalyst for farm activity in that particular region, despite the fact that the support of the bodies with authority in the sector is inadequate, these same sources have informed our reporters.

At the present time, meetings of the various local bodies and the population are already under way to prepare for

the introduction of the new rice seed which the experiment in increased production may yield.

"If the efforts we are going to make with the local bodies in Namaita produce positive results, I can guarantee that this experiment will be launched and carried out during the next season, as an alternative way of encouraging the family sector in this region, which is faced with serious problems," one of these same sources said.

Moreover, according to this same source, substantial production in the family sector is expected from this farm season, especially for rice, peanuts, and corn, and it is believed that the effects of hunger which are being felt in the region can be relatively minimized.

On the basis of the first harvest yields, the peasants are somewhat optimistic. There is every indication that cassava is the only crop which has been seriously affected by the cochineal insect which devastated vast areas in the family sector.

* Governor Visits Malema

91AF1290C Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
6 Jul 91 p 3

[Text] Alfredo Gamito, the governor of Nampula, said last Wednesday that "it is necessary to awaken the sleeping granary," referring to the district of Malema, which he visited for the purpose of promoting more dynamic development of the region of which the district is a part.

The district of Malema, in the western part of Nampula, is regarded as the granary of the province because of its known farming potential, basically for the production of grains and oleaginous crops, in addition to the now well-known Malema tobacco. It is for this reason that it is identified as one of the developmental centers in the plan for reactivating production, essentially of food-stuffs.

In Malema, Alfredo Gamito met with the local authorities and was informed about the current situation in the district. He also had meetings with the economic agents in the region. In addition, Gamito paid visits to the center for displaced persons, the district headquarters of the FRELIMO [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party, and several enterprises of socioeconomic interest.

The governor of Nampula's one-day visit to the district of Malema culminated in a popular gathering at the headquarters, which was attended by more than 3,000 persons. A large portion of the crowd was made up of peasants taking advantage of the opportunity to inform the governor about the difficulties they are experiencing in their daily lives.

Notable among the numerous problems described were the lack of transportation for shipping out farm surpluses and the military situation, which according to the local bodies is now regarded as positive, although isolated

incursions by the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] have been reported in some places.

The district expects rather encouraging results in the marketing campaign begun recently following the end of the cultivating season, which was a real success.

For example, the district of Malema marketed more than 500 tons of various products in 15 days, according to Carlos Coelho, the correspondent at our Nampula branch. The bulk of the sales pertained to corn. It is the predominant crop and the reason that this region is known in the Nampula province as the "food district."

Governor Alfredo Gamito was accompanied during his visit by the provincial military commander, the planning and health directors, the provincial representative of the Agricom [Agricultural Products Marketing Company], and a representative of German Agrarian Action, a nongovernmental organization.

* Displaced Persons Return

91AF1290D Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
6 Jul 91 p 3

[Text] A total of 2,112 former captives rescued from the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance], who became displaced persons as a result of the war and were accommodated at the Nampula administrative station in the Nampula-Rapale district, have now returned to their zones of origin, as a result of the gradual improvement in the security situation.

According to a source at the administrative station, the party committee in the city of Nampula, through which the majority of these people passed, cooperated in the process of returning the former captives and displaced persons to their home districts. In this connection, the party organizations made vehicles and foodstuffs available, and also undertook the lodging of these people prior to their final departure for their respective areas.

Jorge Nicumula, the secretary of the vigilance groups in that administrative area, said on the other hand that the return of these individuals was made possible by the relative improvement in the political-military situation in other regions. This improvement was due to the combat activities of the Army, which pursued the evil-doers to their principal hideouts.

"These people who have returned to their homes are establishing their own residences and beginning a new life, engaging in farming and other economic, social, and cultural activities, and are thus living peaceful lives," he said.

Becoming Self-Sufficient

Moreover, those individuals who are still living in Namaita as displaced persons can be divided into two groups with very different characteristics. On the one hand, there are those who, being "veterans" of the zone and the conditions under which they live, are now

regarded as self-sufficient to a certain extent, since they have had time to establish the foundations for survival. On the other hand, there is a group of 2,654 individuals who arrived recently. They lack even the most basic living conditions, and need free support.

A certain optimism about the future prevails among those in the first group, to judge from the results achieved during the current farm harvest. These results are seen as encouraging, and "if this rate of production continues, we will feel completely self-sufficient before long," some of these displaced persons told NOTICIAS.

"As soon as displaced persons arrive here, they are provided with the conditions needed for production, including a plot of land to cultivate, so that little by little, they can do without the support of the various humanitarian and nongovernmental organizations," Jorge Nicumula explained. "But in order to achieve the desired self-sufficiency, we need to support those who have recently arrived for their first few months," he went on to add.

Our reporters in Namaita have learned that to this end, the humanitarian organizations have already been channeling aid to the displaced persons in the form of seeds, hoes, and other production tools and factors. It will be remembered that the main crops, apart from rice, for which Namaita is known are corn, beans, sweet potatoes, and garden vegetables.

* Authorities Investigate Rise in Smuggling

91AF1270B Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
27 Jun 91 p 8

[Text] The clandestine introduction of various goods into Mozambique—especially in the southern area and most notably in the nation's capital—from South Africa and Swaziland across the border at Namaacha has attained alarming proportions, to the point that the domestic market (both the official and the parallel) is crammed with merchandise and knickknacks from those two neighboring countries, threatening in this way the already inadequate protection of our moribund domestic manufacturing establishment. Documents in the possession of our newspaper point to the possible involvement of high officials of the Customs Service. When Pedro Bule, national director of the service, was contacted by our reporters, he did acknowledge the existence of the smuggling activities but said there was no information to confirm the report that high officials of the Customs Service were involved. He disclosed, however, that last year the Customs Service was able to determine that the value of the merchandise smuggled across the border at Namaacha alone came to between 45 million and 50 million rands.

NOTICIAS has obtained documents indicating that customs officials are constantly and secretly issuing transit permits for goods on the border at Namaacha as a method of exempting them from payment of the customs duties.

According to these documents, on 9 January of this year a goods transit permit was issued illegally under the number 01/Extra/91 for 2,739 cases of beer from South Africa valued at 29,033.40 rands.

When pressed to comment on this matter, National Customs Service Director Pedro Bule replied, "Perhaps these were not high officials. I do not yet have any information to the effect that high officials are involved in this smuggling, but if in fact they are, it will be revealed in the course of the investigation now under way into the cases already detected."

Meanwhile, information in our possession indicates that a total of 27 transit permits have already been issued in this manner on the border at Namaacha for goods with a total value of 506,141 rands.

Pedro Bule acknowledged the existence of irregularities in connection with the import and export of merchandise between Mozambique, South Africa and Swaziland, declaring that between 40 and 50 vehicles carrying a variety of consumer goods cross the border into Mozambique every day at Namaacha.

The contraband merchandise includes automobiles, potatoes, animal feed, soap, edible oils, onions, and various consumer items. Beer and other beverages make up the great majority of the products that cross the border without paying the customs duties.

Bule says that tobacco has recently been added to the list of these products. "Tobacco—which is a very important source of revenue for the national government—has recently also begun to be smuggled. We are today witnessing a major invasion of the domestic market for imported tobacco."

The phenomenon of smuggling exists not only in Maputo but also in the provinces of Manica and Sofala on the Zimbabwe border; in the provinces of Tete and Niassa on the Malawi border; and to a small extent in the North on the Tanzania border.

Pedro Bule emphasized that the Customs Service is not present on all the nation's borders, and is inefficient on the few borders where it does maintain a presence.

According to the director, the inefficiency is a problem that cannot be imputed solely to the Customs Service, because, he said, "it is the result of almost 14 years during which no one paid any attention to the Customs Service.

"This disorganization in the Customs Service," he continued, "facilitates smuggling. The Customs Service is not efficient enough to respond to the phenomenon of smuggling," he admitted. He added, however, that it is the duty of the Service to combat this illegal trade.

"If the Customs Service is not efficient," he emphasized, "if it is not present on all the borders, if it does not have

personnel who know the proper procedures, and if it does not have the equipment, it is obvious that it cannot combat smuggling."

He pointed out, however, one positive fact: that current efforts in this area are being enhanced day by day. As an example of the measures that are being taken to combat smuggling, he cited the creation of the Fiscal Police.

Pedro Bule also said that to cope with this situation it is essential to create instrumentalities that can supply the customs sector with the communications, transportation, and other types of equipment that will enable it to function with the desired efficiency.

"The positive aspect of the situation is the fact that the government has already initiated action to normalize the customs sector," the director emphasized, adding that the major challenge facing that sector is to systematize the Customs Service.

In the director's opinion, however, inefficiency on the job is not the only problem, inasmuch as there are other factors such as underemployment, shortages, and the lack of control over foreign currency circulating on the parallel market.

He insisted that the basic cause of the inefficiency of the department he heads is the fact that it did not receive any attention from the government over a period of 14 years. "But we are genuinely encouraged and are hopeful that we will soon be able to demonstrate a measure of efficiency," he said.

* Portuguese Businessman Linked to 'White Renamo'

91AF1270A Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
27 Jun 91 p 8

[Article by AIM (Mozambique Information Agency) correspondent Maria de Lourdes Torcato]

[Text] Johannesburg—The death of the South African university student David Webster has been linked for the first time to the name of Portuguese businessman Arlindo Maia.

Arlindo Maia owns a number of import and export businesses, including Getra and Fram Intertrading, which carry on business with companies located in Maputo.

On a program broadcast Sunday night over the private television network M-Net, a number of documents were shown that pertain to the case of the death of David Webster. These documents link the investigations being carried on in the northern part of Natal Province to the existence of a "White Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance]," which is in turn linked to the name of Arlindo Maia and to a Renamo supply network based at Kosi Bay, across from the Mozambican coast at Ponta d'Ouro.

In a telephone conversation with Ruda Landman, the journalist who conducted the investigation, Arlindo Maia denied categorically that he had anything to do with the matter.

The death on 1 May 1989 of David Webster, who was shot to death in the doorway of his house at Troyeville, Johannesburg, was being investigated on the assumption that it had been carried out by the Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB), a clandestine operational unit of the South African armed forces, the SADF [South African Defense Forces].

All that has been proven so far is that David Webster was being shadowed by a CCB intelligence section operating in the municipality of Johannesburg.

The aforementioned program revealed that the investigations conducted by the Harms committee—which had been charged with conducting the inquiry—failed to link the murder conclusively to the CCB, and one theory holds that it was a murder by contract. Two investigators—one a private investigator and the other a former member of the CCB who conducted secret investigations for the Johannesburg municipal council—told the journalist Ruda Landman on the M-Net program "Carte Blanche" that the murder may have been committed by dissident elements of the CCB at the behest of a private organization in return for a payment of 960,000 rands.

This organization may possibly be the "White Renamo," which the investigators say is made up of Portuguese businessmen who in the past had economic interests in Mozambique.

The name of Arlindo Maia has cropped up because he is apparently the only person known by the investigators to have ties to the SADF and to the so-called "White Renamo."

No concrete proof has been presented against Maia, but it is alleged that his companies have served as a front for the SADF to supply arms, vehicles, and goods to Renamo through a secret warehouse located on Kosi Bay.

According to the investigators, David Webster was engaged in anthropological research in the northern part of Kwazulu when he reportedly not only discovered this warehouse together with secret military training bases but passed this information along to the Mozambican Government.

At the time the case was being discussed in the press, it was said that David Webster had passed this information on to a student at the Center for African Studies in Maputo whose name was not mentioned.

This new theory will be presented to the attorney general, inasmuch as not only Webster's family but a group formed by his colleagues and friends is committed to keeping the case alive until the truth is established with respect to the student's murder.

This is not the first time that Arlindo Maia's activities have been reported in the press, which previously had focused on his ties to the SADF and on his business relations with companies in Mozambique.

The DAILY STAR of Johannesburg in 1990 published an article accompanied by a photograph of a ship allegedly anchored in Pemba Bay in the northern Mozambique province of Cabo Delgado. The article identified the ship as the one used by Maia's company to transport timber from Mozambique.

This ship had allegedly been purchased through the SADF, who testified during the Harms inquiry that they had ended their commercial ties to the Maia companies in 1984—testimony that is contradicted by the businessman's former associates.

Maia admitted in Johannesburg to a source who requested anonymity that he had worked with the SADF in dealings with UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] but denied that he had any ties to Renamo.

These ties would indeed have been embarrassing, in view of Maia's current relations with Mozambican companies. A number of complaints against him were filed with the South African Police—at the department that investigates fraud and illegal business practices—but for lack of proof these complaints did not result in prosecutions.

What is curious about David Webster's murder—which the investigators believe was carried out with consummate skill—is the fact that no witnesses have come forward with a single fact useful to the investigations, despite the fact that cash rewards have been offered for any testimony leading to the discovery and arrest of those responsible.

Nevertheless, those who knew David Webster as a man of integrity who denounced apartheid and injustice—and in particular, his family and friends—have hopes that the theory now being advanced can be investigated so that justice may be done.

*** Religious Groups Appeal to Dhlakama for Peace**

91AF1289C Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
10 Jul 91 p 8

[Text] Yesterday, in different messages of congratulation on the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Fifth Conference in this part of the country, various religious sects in Maputo Province urged the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] leader, Afonso Dhlakama, to "get in touch with his conscience," and demonstrate his "flexibility" in the process aimed at bringing peace to the country.

In a message submitted by the respective secretary, the Matola Religious Commission appealed to Renamo to

stop the wave of massacres against the civilian population, and expend every effort to achieve a settlement for the war that has been devastating the country for several years.

The religious from Matola also appealed to all citizens to remain vigilant against any acts aimed at perpetuating the Mozambican people's suffering. They voiced their total support for the efforts of the government, in the person of President Joaquim Chissano, to reach a settlement with Renamo; simultaneously encouraging it to continue this battle untiringly.

In the message, after lauding one of the objectives for which the Mozambique Liberation Front launched the armed struggle against foreign domination, namely, to bring prosperity to the Mozambican people, the Matola religious expressed their desire to see the countless problems besetting the country fully debated at the Frelimo Party's Sixth Congress.

Also conveyed on this occasion were congratulations from the Mass Democratic Organizations [ODM] on the Frelimo Party's Fifth Provincial Conference. In their message, the ODM hailed the position expressed by the religious, and wished success for the Sixth Congress.

Yesterday the participants in the Fifth Provincial Conference were also scheduled to elect the 50 delegates to the Frelimo Party's Sixth Congress, to be held in the nation's capital this August. By late yesterday afternoon we had received no information on the process of electing delegates, because the session was taking place in private.

Namibia

Nujoma Urges Nation To Work for Reconciliation

MB0408195791 Windhoek Namibian Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1900 GMT 4 Aug 91

[Text] President Sam Nujoma says conflict and racial strife will never bring peace and prosperity to any society. Speaking at [name indistinct], the president said people in Africa should reach out to each other, as political emancipation itself was not enough. He said the time had come for all Namibians to forget individuality, and make a definite and concerted effort towards reconciliation.

At another occasion, President Nujoma said real economic growth and social development would be achieved only if a sound relationship existed between the government and the mining industry. Opening CDM's [Consolidated Diamond Mines] Elizabeth Bay diamond mine at Luderitz, the president said Namibia's prosperity was closely linked to that of the mining industry.

Deputy Minister Details Soldiers' 'Indiscipline'

MB0708162691 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1515 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] Windhoek Aug 7 SAPA—Indiscipline, alcohol abuse and a lack of control by some officers are behind the shooting incidents involving Namibian Defence Force [NDF] members over the past few months, Deputy Defence Minister Phillemon Malima said on Wednesday [7 August]. Addressing a media conference in Windhoek, Mr Malima said boredom, as was first alleged, was not the cause of the shootings which claimed at least four lives and injured at least six people.

Mr Malima has just completed a tour of all military bases in Namibia during which he delivered strongly-worded remarks to Defence Force soldiers. "It is against this background that correctional, firm and resolute action aimed at stamping out indiscipline among NDF ranks will be taken," he said.

The action will include applying stringent disciplinary measures, strict control and intolerance of unnecessary movement by soldiers, remedial classes and other training activities to keep soldiers busy, an improvement in living standards, suspension and dismissal of those going absent without official leave (AWOL) and an intensification of sports activities.

Mr Malima said his ministry was tasked with protecting, defending and safeguarding the territorial integrity of Namibia and the ministry would see to it that "that constitutional task is executed accordingly and properly".

SWAPO Reportedly Gained From RSA Funding

MB0508090091 Windhoek TIMES OF NAMIBIA in English 29 Jul 91 pp 1 and 2

[Unattributed report: "SA (South African) Money: SWAPO (South-West African People's Organization) Too?"]

[Text] SWAPO was said to have "benefitted handsomely" from the SA Department of Foreign Affairs, said a former highly-placed Foreign Affairs spokesman who was involved in the implementation process.

It was stressed that the financing was rated as a top secret operation, that the money was syphoned along safe routes and that few within the top structure of SWAPO were in the know about the origin of the funding.

While refusing to commit himself to a specific amount, he said that payments to SWAPO started some time after the Mount Etjo Accord.

At Mount Etjo, SWAPO allegedly complained that it was short of funds, as it had started to feel the pinch of the eastern democratisation processes.

SWAPO "drew the attention of the South African officials to the supposed fact that the UN Council for

Namibia had disbanded. In fact, it did not wind up its business until well into the election campaign, continuing its support to SWAPO "as the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia" to the tune of R[Rand]4 million up to June 2, 1989.

There were strong rumours that Mr Nujoma had his last business trip, before returning to Namibia, paid for by the UN Council. That trip, to Iran's Ayatollahs, netted SWAPO a mere 200,000 dollars, stressing the dire financial straights which forced it to turn to South Africa to help in financing the election campaign.

SWAPO argued, "with some justification" said the source, that the election could not be free and fair, if the Organisation was "financially disadvantaged".

South Africa then agreed to give financial assistance, in exchange for SWAPO's commitment that the organisation would prevent the repeat of an April 1 incursion into Namibia.

Foreign affairs minister Pik Botha's statement, in early November 1989 that there was a build-up of PLAN [People's Liberation Army of Namibia] soldiers in Angola was intended, the source said, as "insurance" against the highly-secret financial support of his ministry to SWAPO's election campaign.

This statement caused him the wrath of the UN, while SWAPO professed to be equally enraged.

THE TIMES, in an editorial, commented, "Is this fib a taste of premature South African destabilisation?" (November 7, 1989).

SWAPO members in the know were, however, convinced of the necessity of Mr Botha's statement, as part of the strategy to enable continuing SA support to SWAPO.

Evading the question of the size of the assistance to SWAPO, the source said assistance was supplied conditionally upon the submission of financial statements to the SA department of foreign affairs.

One such submission (the last) fell into the hands of THE TIMES, and was published in the edition of November 24, 1989.

The financial statement, for R47.5 million, was received through the post, complete with an accompanying but unsigned letter to an official in the SA department of foreign affairs.

THE TIMES, at that stage, failed to make the connection, but took it that the statement was simultaneously being leaked to the man in foreign affairs.

The more likely assumption, with hindsight, now appears to be that the official was the contact man between SA foreign affairs, and SWAPO, and that the document had been routed to him in order to have made good the last installment in the promised support.

The source said that there was "100 percent certainty" that SWAPO had electioneering material printed at the government printers in South Africa.

At a press conference, the SWAPO head and chief co-ordinator Moses Garoeb said the NNF [Namibia National Front] Deputy Minister Vekuui Rukoro was the only one with clean hands.

The NNF, during the last three months of the campaign, received considerable support from the Namib Foundation through which the money for the UDF [United Democratic Front], the De Wet-faction of the ACN [Action Christian National], the Federal Convention and various smaller parties was channeled.

Rukoro even attended a few steering committee meetings in the Nictus headquarters of the Foundation, and received a metallic-green Audi from the Foundation.

Minister Denies SWAPO Received Funds

MB0508091991 Windhoek TIMES OF NAMIBIA
in English 31 Jul 91 pp 1 and 2

[Unattributed report: "Pohamba Denies Money From South Africa"]

[Text] Home Affairs Minister Lukas Pohamba yesterday strenuously denied a report in the TIMES OF NAMIBIA that the ruling party had received an undisclosed sum of money from South Africa during the run-up to independence elections in 1989.

Mr Pohamba, who managed SWAPO's [South-West African People's Organization] finances during the bush war and until shortly after the elections, told a media conference at the SWAPO Headquarters in Windhoek that it was impossible for his movement to have knelt before the "arch foe" to beg for money.

"SWAPO of Namibia never, never received any money or any form of support from the South African government, be it during the liberation struggle or during the election campaign," said Mr Pohamba in a towering rage.

He said money allegedly given to "seven" political parties by Pretoria for campaigning during the UN-supervised election in Namibia torpedoed the chances of SWAPO to win the two-thirds majority. "SWAPO was deprived of the 95 percent victory which the organisation deserved in all respects," he claimed.

He said there is no assurance or guarantee that such foreign funding of political parties during the local and regional elections will not be repeated.

"As longer (sic!) as the puppet parties which supported the maintenance of colonial oppression and racism in this country are not completely eliminated at the ballot box, we must be prepared to have this kind of political prostitutionism (sic!)," the Minister said.

The aim of the press conference, Mr Pohamba said, was to react to an article in the *TIMES OF NAMIBIA* on Monday, which said that SWAPO had received secret funds from the South African government.

"THE *TIMES* should take the same "bold" line and reveal the secret about funds channeled to SWAPO by the South African government which I too think need not be kept secret from the Namibian electorate," Mr Pohamba said.

The Minister also threatened legal action against the paper if it fails to produce "concrete evidence" and reveal its source.

Opposition Parties Called 'SA's Frankenstein'

MB0308122991 Windhoek *THE NAMIBIAN* in English 29 Jul 91 p 3

[Unattributed report: "SA's (South Africa's) Frankenstein"]

[Text] SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] chief co-ordinator Moses Garoeb on Friday launched a scathing attack against opposition MPs calling them a "bunch of defaulters".

Garoeb's attack came in the wake of SA [South African] Foreign Minister Pik Botha's revelations that SA [South Africa] pumped more than R[and]100 million into the coffers of opposition parties to fight SWAPO during the 1989 elections.

Garoeb made the accusations during a press conference at the SWAPO Headquarters.

He described the amount of money said to have been given to the opposition as "the tip of the iceberg" designed "to fight, defeat, or deny SWAPO a two-thirds majority in the elections".

"All along we stated that DTA [Democratic Turnhalle Alliance] was created by SA from the start but people did not believe us," Garoeb added.

"SA created a Frankenstein which she has to continue feeding with artificial blood," he said. "Money given for the elections was just a continuation of that support". The SWAPO chief said South Africa's "main aim...was to prevent independence".

"As long as SA remains in the present form, she will continue to destabilise the country, and send money for regional elections," Garoeb continued.

He said he had nothing against Afrikaans-speaking whites. "I am called radical because I speak the truth. But, you must always look at Boers with a second eye—they always have a hidden agenda.

However, he added, there were those white people who were different, "but this minority of whites are victimised by others".

"I have said that reconciliation is dead. I was wrong. Reconciliation has hardly started, if it ever started".

Referring to the Onduri Hotel incident, the SWAPO leader said reconciliation was being challenged by whites who felt they were entrenched.

UN Official on Parties, Funding, UN Role

MB0308122791 Windhoek *THE NAMIBIAN* in English 30 Jul 91 pp 1, 2

[Report by Tom Minney: "DTA (Democratic Turnhalle Alliance)-Gate": How the UN Tackled Dirty Tricks"]

[Text] The United Nations in Namibia fought continuous campaigns against dirty tricks and other activities by some factions of the South African Government. However, the UN was not aware of exact sum (R[and]100 million) or that the South African Cabinet had approved the funding for opposition parties in the UN-supervised elections.

These details emerged in an interview with former UNTAG [United Nations Transition Assistance Group] spokesperson Fred Eckhard in New York yesterday.

Eckhard said that all parties, including SWAPO [South-West People's Organization], South Africa and the UN, had agreed to a secret "impartiality package" in the run-up to elections.

The package was later published and many observers said South Africa's funding and other involvement was directly in contradiction of its agreements. Eckhard refused to be drawn on this, saying the UN had not yet had time to consider the reports.

Prime Minister Hage Geingob last week hit out at the UN for "shamefully" failing to recognise the covert funding.

Eckhard did say yesterday that the UN forces took issue with South African interference, including a propaganda campaign against UNTAG and SWAPO. When they learned that South African information specialists were operating in Windhoek, they took up the issue with the representative of the SA [South African] Foreign Affairs Ministry and the propaganda became noticeably less.

Sometimes the interference suggested conflict between different factions, as when the military gave faked messages on a SWAPO invasion just before the elections to Foreign Minister Pik Botha which subsequently considerably embarrassed Botha.

There were also complaints against SWAPO for breaking rules, such as claims that SWAPO organisers were conducting political activities in refugee camps and returnee centres in defiance of the rules. This was taken up with SWAPO's leadership.

"The most important point is that the financing aspect of the campaign was never raised as a fairness issue with us.

It was widely assumed there was international financial support coming in from many directions to many different parties so while we were aware we did not consider it a problem as these things balanced each other out," he claimed, although he admitted South Africa had pledged impartiality.

On claims by self-professed spy Nico Basson that the UN was infiltrated up to positions close to the leadership, Eckhard said disingenuously that there were no secrets in the UN and he did not see what such infiltration would accomplish.

He added that even very delicate issues such as Koevoet [crowbar—police counterinsurgency unit] were reported to the UN Secretary-General and through him to the public.

Speaking for the UN, Eckhard said that many forms of destabilization had been taken into account in the UN's assessment that the elections had been free and fair. SWAPO leaders last week said the elections may have been free but they were not fair.

Swaziland

Government Reshuffles Principal Secretaries

MB0908080191 Mbabane THE TIMES OF
SWAZILAND in English 9 Aug 91 p 1

[Report by Gordon Mbuli: "Reshuffle at the Top"]

[Text] Prince Sulumlomo has been appointed Principal Secretary [PS] for the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism.

Prince Sulumlomo's appointment is with effect from August 1, 1991, according to a statement from the head of the civil service, Mr Alphus Shabangu.

The appointment is part of a major shake up affecting principal secretaries in various ministries which was announced in the statement.

Prince Sulumlomo is a former under secretary in the defunct Deputy Prime Minister's office.

He takes over the post from Mr Tim Zwane, who has since left the civil service on retirement.

Mr Shabangu also announced that the secretary for the Civil Service Board, Mr Noah Nkambule has been promoted to be Principal Secretary for Natural Resources, Land Utilisation and Energy. His appointment is with effect from July 23.

The present PS at Natural Resources, Mr Sandile Ceko has been transferred to be Principal Secretary for the Ministry of Labour and Public Service. His transfer is with effect from July 23.

The post of PS in this ministry had not been filled since the resignation of Mr Kenneth Mbuli, about three years ago.

The office was held by the Under Secretary Mrs Futhi Kuhlase as acting Principal Secretary.

Paper Warns Against Abuse of Freedom of Speech

MB0708083491 Mbabane THE TIMES OF
SWAZILAND in English 7 Aug 91 p 1

[Editorial "Comment": "Freedom of Speech Must Not Be Abused"]

[Text] Freedom of speech was clearly in evidence at the meeting of the Swaziland Youth Congress as reported in this newspaper yesterday.

We hope that the citizens of this country and members of the international diplomatic community took note of this.

Police officers sat quietly from beginning to end without interfering, even when the views expressed were clearly political and downright insulting.

However, whilst we laud this spirit of openness, we wish to caution that our freedom of speech should be guarded jealously and not abused.

Swaziland is an orderly community with very clear structures and institutions.

In our country the highest institution is our Monarchy, represented by the King and Queen Mother, both held in high esteem, loved and respected by everyone, because they are the very basis of our nationhood.

As a newspaper we are often a vehicle for people to express their opinions, good or bad. Upon reflection we feel duty bound to apologise for reporting the insulting remarks made at the Swaziland Youth Congress.

Zambia

Candidates to Central Committee Posts Tallied

MB0408190291 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting
Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 4 Aug 91

[Text] UNIP [United National Independence Party] chairman for elections and publicity, Joseph Mutale, has disclosed today that more than 80 people are contesting as members of the Central Committee in all the nine provinces. Addressing a news briefing at Mulungushi Rock in Kabwe today, Comrade Mutale said some old guards in the Central Committee have decided not to contest their positions, but he did not disclose their names.

Comrade Mutale is, however, among five people contesting the post in Northern Province currently being held by Paramount Chief Chitimukulu. Comrade Mutale revealed that Central Province has eight contestants to the position of MCC [member of the Central Committee], Eastern Province seven, Luapula 10, Southern

Mine-Copperbelt 11, Northwestern 13, Western 14, and Lusaka has six, bringing the total to 83 [figure as heard].

Airlift of ANC Exiles To Resume 9 Aug

MB0708195091 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1845 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] Special flights to bring in an estimated 2,000 ANC [African National Congress] exiles in Zambia back to South Africa will be resumed on Friday [9 August]. An ANC spokesman said in Lusaka that South African Airways had been contracted to carry out the operation. He said that there would be six airlifts in the next three weeks. About 20 ANC officials would be left behind to run the ANC's facilities in Lusaka. The repatriation of about 20,000 ANC exiles worldwide was suspended in April when several returning exiles were arrested on their arrival at Jan Smuts Airport.

Firms Order 5 Million Rands of RSA Goods

MB0708165091 Johannesburg SABA in English 1528 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] Lusaka Aug 7 SABA—South African companies have clinched provisional orders totalling R[and]5 million from Zambian businessmen, director of the South

African exhibition management services John Thomson said in Lusaka on Wednesday [7 August].

At the end of the Zambian Agricultural and Commercial Show in which 30 South African firms participated, Mr Thomson said the availability now of a foreign-exchange externalising facility in Zambia would attract more South African companies.

"Several Zambian companies have shown keen interest in our goods and have placed provisional orders worth R5 million," he said.

"All the companies which came for the show have clinched business contracts," Mr Thomson added.

He described Zambia's show as the "one with the best volume of business" of the three exhibitions attended by South African companies in Southern Africa.

South African companies have also taken part in commercial shows in Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

Mr Thomson said the companies had limited the goods brought for display because of a misconception that Zambia had no facility for converting foreign exchange.

Burkina Faso

Compaore Speaks on 8th Anniversary of Revolution

AB0808140591 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 1900 GMT 4 Aug 91

[Excerpts] The eighth anniversary of the people's democratic revolution, a national feast, was celebrated this year under the theme: Water—a Factor for Socioeconomic Development. As part of this celebration, a ceremonial parade was held this morning at Revolution Square under the high patronage of the head of state, Captain Blaise Compaore. The highlight of this ceremony was, undoubtedly, President Compaore's address to the nation in which he took stock of eight years of revolution, analyzed the transition period that Burkina Faso is going through, and touched on the prospects ahead, mainly in the social and economic fields.

Blaise Compaore began by urging all Burkinabe to demonstrate a spirit of reconciliation with all the painful events of the past and to have a pious thought for all [words indistinct] the emancipation struggle. These include the (?people) who honorably defied [word indistinct] bloodshed in the struggle against the humiliating episode of colonial domination, the Burkinabe workers and economic actors who have since independence fought with abnegation and a spirit of sacrifice for a society based on justice, progress, and freedom. They also include the religious and traditional communities, the nongovernmental and humanitarian organizations, and the trade union organizations. Then, on this anniversary day of the people's democratic revolution, Blaise Compaore particularly paid tribute on behalf of the state to all the comrades who, operating within the people's structures since August 1983, devoted their energy, their resources, and their time to the service of the nation's development.

[Begin Compaore recording] Beyond the mistakes and excesses that we all stigmatized, and beyond the theoretical shortcomings that sometimes characterized our concept of how power should be organized, it is obvious that all the gains of the revolution in the area of qualitative socioeconomic and cultural transformation are due to all our sincere compatriots who massively mobilized themselves within the people's organizations. Night and day, thousands of men, women, elderly, and young people, conscious of their ability as a people to build their own happiness, relentlessly made every effort, their only ambition being to serve the fatherland, in diverse fields of endeavor: works of common interest, tree planting, building of schools and dispensaries, mass education, construction and maintenance of several dams, to mention but a few examples of the human and material sacrifices made by these [word indistinct] comrades in the service of the entire fatherland. They number in their thousands, these honest young people who, in the [word indistinct] and in rain, kept watch over the security of our country. [passage omitted]

Should we today show ingratitude and contempt for these brave countrymen who [words indistinct] serve the fatherland? Surely not! For [words indistinct] in the name of their love and their sacrifice for our country. [end recording]

That was Blaise Compaore speaking this morning at Revolution Square. The 4 August celebration takes place this year in the stage setting of a rebirth of a legal and political multiparty framework. With the rule of law being established, the structures of the former system must be freed from the state. Thus, according to the head of state, there can be no viable democratic system in the present context of Burkina unless there is an organized involvement of the masses of the people at grass-roots level in the formulation, implementation, and control of development actions. On the transition period, Blaise Compaore stressed the need for an atmosphere of social peace.

[Begin recording] The electoral perspectives and the (?practical) policy measures arising from our Constitution have created among the political elite disturbing whirlwinds when one considers their possible consequences on economic development and social cohesion. I dare hope, however, that, beyond political jibes linked with the quest for votes in the upcoming elections, each person will strive to safeguard our common achievement and correct our collective shortcomings. Moreover, our pride stems from the solidification of our democratic convictions which [words indistinct] element of social peace.

With a view to attaining a healthy social balance in this transition period and strengthen our hopes for a brighter future, I went to great lengths, with all the patience and [word indistinct] possible, to seek the establishment of a transition government which I wanted to be very representative of the various ideological and political currents of our country. If all the political actors demonstrate serenity and openmindedness during the [word indistinct] management of this transition period, there is no doubt that firm hallmarks will be laid down for the implementation and success of the second phase of our democratic process and socioeconomic development. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Liberia

Assembly Calls for Clarifications on Executions

AB0808212291 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 0900 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] The Interim Legislative Assembly [ILA] is requesting the Justice Ministry in Monrovia to seek further clarifications from the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia [INPFL] regarding the execution of INPFL members Moses Varney, David Teah, and others. The ILA said once the truth of the matter is established, the leadership of the INPFL must be brought to justice. The Assembly's position was made

known yesterday in a joint resolution issued at a press conference at the Capitol Building in Monrovia.

According to the LIBERIAN NEWS AGENCY, the resolution also called on the Interim Government to take measures that will improve the security situation in the country. The resolution, which was read by the ILA acting speaker, Mr. Bismack Kuyon, also asked the Interim Government to reconstitute the Supreme Court to enable party litigants [to] seek redress at the highest forum. The ILA further resolved that ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-fire Monitoring Group] strengthen its security network in the country since they are now responsible for the security of the Liberian nation.

The resolution has, meanwhile, mandated the ministry of justice, in collaboration with the ministry of national defense, to take measures to bring to justice the culprits involved in the manhandling of Assistant Minister (Sando Rains) and (?Colonel Louis). The resolution has also asked the chief of staff and the minister of defense, in coordination with ECOMOG, to work out modalities to relocate soldiers of the Armed Forces of Liberia from behind the Executive Mansion as well as from private homes.

Radio on Period Between Yamoussoukro II, III

*AB0808213091 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English
0900 GMT 6 Aug 91*

[James Wollow commentary]

[Text] The communique issued at the end of Yamoussoukro II says the period between that meeting and Yamoussoukro III is one month. That period is extremely significant for two major reasons. First, diplomacy will be given its fullest place in the negotiation of peace for Liberia by members of the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] special committee of five. Second, Liberians will have the onerous responsibility to ensure that they achieve peace for their country themselves through serious internal negotiations and the display of an unsurpassed political will.

What we need to understand is that the five-nation committee has no blueprint for Liberia. Rather it is the responsibility of every Liberian, high or low, to design the blueprint of peace for this country, a right only the Liberian people should exercise during the period in-between Yamoussoukro II and Yamoussoukro III.

The five-nation committee, we are told, is determined to ensure that peace is restored in our country by all means, for it is left to us, as a people, to provide the (?necessary factors) to restore peace otherwise the resolution of the conflict we are yearning for will not take place. This is why we must do all we can during the period in-between the two meetings to remind ourselves that the attainment of peace demands sacrifices and the desire for peace (?much) heroic instincts and ability.

Our ability to negotiate, to consult and confer quietly, diligently and effectively must supersede our instinct to put asunder the peace process which started with the encouragement of ECOWAS and now its special five-nation committee.

We must refrain from inflaming the situation by the making of unwholesome statements which might jeopardize the peace process and might not be in the best interest of our attainment of total peace. Rather we must engage in an extraordinary diplomatic and political and diplomatic jockeying unknown by all sides of the Liberian conflict. And by the end of the one-month period we must be capable of going back to Yamoussoukro with some surprises which could even turn our ancestors in their graves and make the entire membership stand up amazed at the magnanimity we would have displayed by telling the committee that we the Liberian people are but one people with one destiny and are decided finally to bury the hatchet and to end the conflict once and for all.

That is exactly the purpose of the one-month period. It is also meant for the Liberian people to [words indistinct] by allowing reason to prevail. By so doing, Liberia will join the nations of the world that have returned to democracy and respect the peace and stability of all its people. Liberia's wealth would no longer be sold but would be used to build factories, farms, bridges, roads, schools, hospitals and to feed everyone of us.

By doing so too, the Liberian people would decide their own future, fairly elect their leaders and, above all, enjoy Liberian life to the fullest. And that is what should happen within the period in-between. Within the period in-between Yamoussoukro II and Yamoussoukro III, we must prepare the way for a successful meeting at Yamoussoukro for the third time and, perhaps, make it the finale of the peace process. Together, before Yamoussoukro III, we must have a united voice that will indeed show that we are determined to restore everlasting peace to our nation, Liberia, the land of liberty, freedom, and justice.

Minister Denies Misunderstanding With Taylor

*AB0808132091 Gbarnga Radio ELBC in English
1900 GMT 6 Aug 91*

[Text] Defense Minister Tom Woewiyu has been giving clarifications on his absence from the country. Addressing reporters of the just ended minisummit of ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] in the Ivory Coast, Minister Woewiyu said he left the country in the interest of government. The defense minister denied reports that his absence from the country was due to (?major) differences between him and President Taylor.

He, however, warned detractors of the NPRA [National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly] Government not to use such situation as an opportunity for discredit the cordial relations that exist between him and the Liberian

people. Touching on the recent summit held in Yamoussoukro, Minister Woewiyu described it as successful in that the five West African leaders were willing to accept both governments in Liberia.

Mali

Azawad Popular Movement Official Interviewed

AB0208171091 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television
du Mali Radio in French 1500 GMT 30 Jul 91

[Interview with Iyyad Aghali, secretary general of Azawad Popular Movement, by Fatim Sidibe and Oumar Toure in Bamako on 30 July]

[Text] [Sidibe] Oumar Toure, we are now with Mr. Iyyad Aghali, secretary general of the Azawad Popular Movement [MPA]. Good morning, Mr. Aghali. What do you, MPA militants, in rebellion against the central government, expect from the national conference?

[Aghali] Thank you, Fatim. We have come to the national conference because we had the honor of being invited. It is the ideal forum in which to discuss our problems and find final solutions.

[Toure] What do you mean by these final solutions? Do you still maintain your claims over the Azawad territory, or do you mean final solutions for the whole country?

[Aghali] I think we have already signed some agreements like the 6 January Tamanrasset peace accords the contents of which are well-known. So it is in this context that we speak of lasting solutions and the restoration of peace in the country as a whole.

[Toure] In these Tamanrasset accords, no mention was ever made that MPA demands should be met on any specific points concerning territorial claims. I would like to know whether your territorial claims have been maintained or whether you want the central government to pay greater attention to the Azawad region while you remain within greater Mali?

[Aghali] This is exactly what is stated in the Tamanrasset accords.

[Sidibe] Mr. Aghali, what exactly happened in Tamanrasset, since the accords have not yet been implemented?

[Aghali] I must admit that efforts for peace have been made on both sides. But the essential part of the accords—the granting of special status to the Azawad territory—was not agreed upon. This slowness and hesitations on the government side has led to uneasiness within the MPA.

[Sidibe] So who violated these agreements, you or the central government in Bamako?

[Aghali] The agreements have not been implemented because of many factors. First, the misinterpretation by the authorities right from their return to Bamako after

the agreements were signed. And then bad propaganda, which has discredited us in the eyes of our fighters by telling them that they have shed their blood for nothing. And because the case was about a mere act of decentralization which has, for a long time, failed to work in Mali. The first political violation was by the government and the first military violation by our fighters.

[Sidibe] [Words indistinct]

[Toure] Still in the same vein, at the first meeting of the follow-up committee in Gao, the Government of Mali, in line with the implementation of the Tamanrasset agreements, handed over the MPA prisoners it had detained. Then it asked for and withdrew fighting units from the front. On the other hand, it seemed that the MPA did not respect what it had to do.

[Aghali] It is true that the government freed prisoners, but so did we, and handed them over to the nearest post. We also observed that during the deliberations of the follow-up committee on the implementation of the Tamanrasset accords in Gao, there was some hesitation on the part of the government authorities, especially concerning the draft bill which was aimed at making this act official.

[Sidibe] Mr. Aghali, people are now talking a lot about democracy and freedom in Mali. What is the most important for MPA? Is it freedom, democracy, or security in the northern part of the country?

[Aghali] We think that there is no democracy without peace, whether in the south or north. Peace is needed. To achieve democracy, peace and tranquillity are needed.

[Sidibe] A few months ago, MPA decided to organize its congress on foreign soil, in Algeria more precisely. Why?

[Aghali] We decided to hold this congress in Algeria, in Tamanrasset, because it was on neutral ground and because of security reasons only.

[Toure] Despite your willingness to cooperate with the central government for the restoration of peace, attacks are still being carried out. Who are the aggressors?

[Aghali] At the beginning, attacks were carried out by those we call dissidents. But the current irresponsible acts against innocent people are committed by isolated elements.

[Sidibe] You contend that the current aggressors are not MPA militants?

[Aghali] No, they are not.

[Sidibe] And you have all your men under control?

[Aghali] All MPA elements, who are faithful to the Tamanrasset accords, never launched an attack either against the central government or people. Therefore, we condemn these irresponsible acts as well the fierce reprisals against the civilian population by the government, the army.

[Toure] What if MPA was today asked to join its efforts to those of the Malian Army to put an end to the activities of those isolated elements. What would you say to that?

[Aghali] It primarily depends on the outcome of the national conference.

[Toure] So you are ready, because these isolated elements are also a liability to your revolution when they attack [word indistinct] people.

[Aghali] [Words indistinct] we condemn them.

[Sidibe] Mr. Aghali, can you tell us about your relations with the Azawad Arab Islamic Front, FIA?

[Aghali] We have good relations with FIA concerning... [changes thought] Let us say they are signatories of the Tamanrasset accords. They are for dialogue, so are we. Therefore we have good relations with them.

[Sidibe] They are not present at the national conference?

[Aghali] They are not, but we hope they will come. Their absence may be due to a delay in logistics.

[Sidibe] Thank you, Mr. Aghali and Oumar Toure.

Democratic Movement Urges Greater Vigilance

AB0708095591 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television
du Mali Radio in French 2000 GMT 5 Aug 91

[Statement by the Coordination Committee of the Democratic Movement and the Army on 5 August in Bamako; read by Oumar Toure—recorded]

[Text] The resistance of 26 March 1991 consecrated the victory of the united democratic forces over the torturing, autocratic, and murderous government of Moussa Traore and his clan. It will be superfluous to recall that a family had abused the good faith of the people to set up a dictatorial government which, at the beginning, drew its legitimacy from the support of the people of a country who have always desired to be associated to the management of its destiny.

Corruption, nepotism, influence peddling, favoritism, embezzlement, and lying were instituted as a system of government. The policy of divide and conquer, wisely developed by the forces of destruction, was chosen as a favored action aimed at perpetuating a government which, throughout its 23-year rule, sowed hatred, desolation, and despair so much so that on 26 March 1991, the united people were little surprised by the logic of the end of its struggle.

This important victory by the Malian people was welcomed by all democrats across the world. The Malian democrats are still sensitive to the great manifestations of friendship and solidarity toward them during the difficult moments of their struggle. The Malian example—original in its rapidity, the determination of the

men, the spontaneous cohesion of the various components of democratic movements, and the intelligence of the operation which surprised the dictator in his armchair, thinking he was more firmly seated than ever—is a source of inspiration for the democratic forces of other African countries struggling for the restoration of an era of pluralist democracy.

This fight enabled the Malian people to be connected with their history whose [word indistinct] always used to try and throw dust into their eyes in order to better subject them and spoil the fruits of their labor. Hope began to be restored to the people of a country who had lost faith in themselves because all the sacrifices made as part of nation building seemed purposeless to them.

Since the victory of 26 March 1991, the minority, which had built its happiness on the misfortune of the overwhelming majority, still has its influence over certain individuals hiding among the people. These individuals are engaged in denouncements and the misinformation of the public opinion aimed at creating disorder among the various component parts of the Democratic Movement, which are suffering but hoping at the same time.

We, the Coordination Committee of the Democratic Movement and the Army, aware of this reality and the magnitude of the work awaiting us for the moral education of the society, aware of the intense misinformation campaign aimed at creating and encouraging suspicion among us to better oppose us against each other in order to cause the failure of the national conference which shares the democratic revolution, in our determination to prevent any attempt to divert our attention in order to restore a system gone for good, launch a pressing appeal to all civilian and military democrats from the rural areas and towns and all the socioprofessional strata to remain vigilant and more united than ever in order to prevent this restoration attempt, whether military or civilian, like that of Diabira and his acolytes on 15 July 1991. Recall that the national conference of Mali, original because it is aimed at giving the country solid democratic institutions capable of defying the test of time, is not a [words indistinct]. This does not exclude a careful investigation of political and economic crimes. We ask the democratic civilians and soldiers to support fully the institutions resulting from their joint actions on 26 March 1991, whose mission is to manage the democratic transitional period. With the ~~conviction~~ that the sacrifices of our martyrs of January to March 1991, civilians and soldiers, who fell at the front for the defense of a united motherland during the painful events in the north, will not be vain, we urge the people to be disciplined, tolerant, as they have always been, and to arm themselves with a spirit of discernment, knowing that the most difficult thing is to win our challenge before history.

Issued at Bamako on 5 August 1991, the Coordination Committee of the Democratic Movement and the Army.

Niger

Saibou, Army Uphold Conference Sovereignty

AB0908102091 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network in French 1900 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] The national conference continued its deliberations at Niamey Sports Palace today. The delegates examined the third document of the conference this afternoon while the presidium chairman and the first deputy chairman were calling on President Ali Saibou. Colonel Toumba Boubacar, chief of Defense Staff of the National Armed Forces, was also present at their talks. Professor Andre Salifou briefed the delegates on the meeting:

[Begin Salifou recording] The following emerged from our meeting:

First, as the president stated last week at the official opening of our deliberations, he fully upholds the conference's sovereignty. [applause]

Second, the Army supports the Republic and is prepared to put itself unconditionally at the disposal of the new authorities and wants this to be clearly understood. [applause] The chief of Defense Staff's statements on 1 August sounded somewhat ambiguous, but the ambiguity was removed in subsequent observations made a few days later. Even better, Col. Boubacar himself has confirmed this to us. Usually, at a meeting with two dignitaries—in this case the head of state and the chief of Defense Staff—it is the head of state alone who speaks. Contrary to this practice, as my colleague and I noted, after we had listened patiently to the head of state and exchanged views with him, the chief of Defense Staff made a point of taking the floor to state clearly that he, his officers, and his men would like to be regarded as Nigerois among other Nigerois and that they are at the new authorities' disposal.

The two dignitaries added: The Army has run this country and continues to do so. If the conference calls on any soldier involved in the management of state affairs, the Army will make him available and he will answer any questions the delegates ask. This must be clearly understood. So, the Army is at our disposal and has sided up with us. They would simply like to see a climate of brotherhood and an end to suspicion among Nigerois—both military and civilian. For national unity's sake, they would like to see a congenial atmosphere at the national conference.

The head of state asked me and my colleagues to tell you this: He would like our compatriots to avoid making statements which likely to jeopardize our national unity in any way. We should avoid speaking in terms of regions, ethnic groups, or other considerations that could cause division among Nigerois. Those are the wishes expressed by the head of state to us, your representatives.

Lastly, in order that Nigerois should not suspect the Army of conspiring to hamper the smooth deliberations of the national conference, the Army has made it clear that it only has one concern, or rather two concerns: The first, its classic mission, is to defend the country's security; and the second, as the head of state himself defined it, is their return to the barracks. He said: We are already thinking of where to assign our soldiers who are holding ministerial posts and who you are soon going to turn over to us. This shows the president is expecting our decisions and is ready to comply. Good night and see you tomorrow! [end recording]

Sierra Leone

Official Interviewed on New Constitution

AB0808141591 London BBC World Service in English 0730 GMT 6 Aug 91

[From the "Network Africa" program hosted by Hilton Fyle]

[Text] In Sierra Leone a new constitution is being voted on. At the end of this month, from the 23 to 30 August, there is going to be a referendum. People will be asked if they like the new constitution that has been drafted. The man who was responsible for the drafting of this new constitution for multiparty democracy after years of one party is Dr. Abdoulaye Conteh, who is right here with me.

[Begin recording] [Fyle] Are you satisfied with the kind of constitution the people are going to be voting on, or are there one or two things that you would have liked to see personally written there?

[Conteh] Reasonably very satisfied in the circumstances. Certainly it is an improvement, a whole improvement on what we have at the moment. Essentially, this puts the individual on a better footing, vis-a-vis government and other institutions of state than the present Constitution does. I am overall satisfied with it. As I said earlier, I think it depends on the operators of the constitution. The spirit that will attend to its operation and practice.

[Fyle] What do you think would motivate people to, I mean, what would motivate people to go and take part in this referendum?

[Conteh] Well, everybody is hungry now for a change. So, that is enough impulse to get them out to vote. We hope they will vote massively. Mark you, the country is going through a very critical phase at the moment. And Sierra Leone as a whole should be commended. Even in the face of invasion from outside, it is going about constitutional reform in a peaceful democratic manner. In some countries, that would have been sufficient excuse to postpone the whole exercise. But government has taken it on board and the people have taken it in their stride. That is commendable.

[Fyle] Well, what is the point behind this? Is it that government is simply adhering to the will of the people or does it recognize that change is needed because it has failed?

[Conteh] I think it is both, not only because possibly some say government has failed, but because it recognizes that this is the mood and it is acting to the call of the people for a change: Let us go back to multiparty democracy. But mark you, multiparty democracy is not itself a magic wand. There is whole lot to it to make the change a better one than we have at the moment—accountability, efficiency, proper management in government to ensure that the resources of the country are for the welfare of the people of the country. It needs a whole new management skills.

[Fyle] How would someone who is illiterate, for example, recognize what stands for yes and what stands for no when they get there?

[Conteh] Well, because of the low level of literacy, mostly it is going to be graphic. I believe the symbol that has been chosen for yes in the referendum is umbrella, and in the African context that typifies unity, protection and all that. And the symbol for no is rather graphically illustrated by the machete, the cutlass, which, if you have it, know it is an offensive weapon. So, if you are going to vote no, you certainly are going to vote for civil strife. And I think the electoral commission should be complimented on its choice of symbols for the referendum. I am not prejudging the issue for them in the circumstances one would know why I want... [laughter].

[Fyle ...amid laughter] Well you have said you want people to vote yes anyway—otherwise the one-party rule will continue.

[Conteh] Absolutely.

[Fyle] Now do you see that there is a trend in West Africa, particularly in West Africa now, of governments and nations going toward multipartyism and West Africa has been the center for a kind of disease called coups d'etat. I mean the people in southern Africa always accuse us in West Africa of having this disease, having coups virtually every year and all that. Do you think that this new trend toward multipartism will spell the end of coups?

[Fyle] Hopefully it would, but—mark you—even southern Africa is not immune from the virus of coup d'etat: Lesotho is a case in point. But, the trend toward constitutional civilian rule and multipartyism is, shall I say, the approbation of the principle that democracy works, and that the economic managers, because of the political system they have had to operate with, really were efficient to deliver the goods. So, let us go back to, if you like, bring market forces to the political arena. The individual has a choice both in terms of what he would buy if he went to the market and if you went to the polls for whom he will vote. And I think that will ensure efficiency, and that the choice of the people is in

enthroning status, as it were, to govern so that their choices are reflected in the decisions of government. [end recording]

Opposition Group Threatens To Fight Momoh

AB0908100091 Paris AFP in French 1930 GMT
8 Aug 91

[Text] Lagos, 8 Aug (AFP)—The People's Democratic League (PDL, the Sierra Leonean opposition in exile) has, in a communique, threatened to get involved in the armed struggle to oust President Joseph Momoh from power if he does not dissolve his government by the end of the month. The PDL will also boycott any multiparty elections except if they are organized by a new transitional government. Messrs. Alimamy Bakarr Sankoh and Amadu Bah, president and secretary general of the party respectively, said.

The PDL, created in 1986, has offices in Nigeria, Ghana, Burkina Faso and in Sierra Leone and receives financial aid from abroad, Mr. Bah told AFP, without further details. He added that Captain Fode Sankoh, who led the incursions into Sierra Leone in March and April, was "a comrade the PDL knows well."

On 24 July this year, the PDL demanded the withdrawal of foreign troops from Sierra Leone, the unconditional release of all political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency imposed 10 years ago, as well as the creation of a commission charged with trying all politicians who have exercised power since independence.

Togo

Armed, Security Forces Support Democracy

AB0908110591 Lome Voux de la Nouvelle Marche
Network in French 1230 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Statement issued by the Togolese Armed and Security Forces; place and date not given—live or recorded]

The Togolese Armed and Security Forces fully support the current democratic process started by the government and the opposition in accordance with the 12 June 1991 agreement which is aimed at organizing a national conference to effect a peaceful transitional period that will lead to the establishment of new institutions in our country.

Loyal to their mission to guarantee national independence, territorial integrity, and social peace, the Armed and Security Forces renew their faithfulness to the institutions of the Republic that were established through universal suffrage.

Desirous to be completely neutral to all the political parties and to respect the freedom of the ongoing debates, the Armed and Security Forces wish to recall that they will not support any act or initiative that seeks

to violate the principle of democratic sovereignty or that is contrary to the Republic's laws.

Conscious of the fact that the only objective of the ongoing process is the establishment of new institutions and their submission to the will of the people, who are the only ones to decide and appoint their representatives, the Armed and Security Forces will not support any organ of transition which does not recognize the legitimate authority of the universally elected president of the Republic—who is also the guarantor of our national independence and unity and the continuity of the state—or which deprives him of the powers put at his disposal to enable him to work toward achieving his goals.

Conference Delegates Condemn Foreign Interference

*AB0708130891 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
1830 GMT 5 Aug 91*

[Text] In Togo, several delegates at the national conference have accused big powers such as France, Germany, and the United States for their generally negative role in

the country's politics. In reaction to this accusation, the Togolese minister of foreign affairs expressed the hope that such allegations would not scuttle Togo's relations with the accused countries. But the accusation was maintained by delegates, as Pastor Adoubra claimed in this statement to Crepin Nganga:

[Begin Adoubra recording] Since these countries are precisely our friends, we are right and duty bound to question their role during our national conference. I would like to add this: When Mr. Chirac [former French prime minister] takes the liberty of interfering in Africa's internal affairs without being mandated by anyone, our authorities should react and assert the sovereignty of African and black peoples. I believe that the current wind of democracy is an opportunity for African and black peoples to reassert and revalue their (?sovereignty and dignity) on the international front. Meanwhile, we should realize that what we are doing and saying affects not only our small state. Dictatorial regimes in black Africa were also inspired by forces from outside our continent. We must make this clear. [end recording]

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27 Aug 1991

